THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 165 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 1, 1947 NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

THE UN-AMERICAN HEARINGS DIRECTED BY J. Parnell Thomas and designed to expose Communist plots in Hollywood are still going strong in Washington. So far, they have revealed what the well-dressed movie star wears when he attends a hearing of the Un-American Committee; they have disclosed that Adolphe Menjou reads Marxian literature; they have indicated that there are some seventy-nine Communists and fellow-travelers in Hollywood who have had little or no success in injecting propaganda into films and whose influence on the screen unions is declining as a result of democratic opposition within the ranks. The first episodes of the Perils of Parnell, though they have played to a full House, have been a dismal flop as far as their alleged purpose is concerned. The Undoubting Thomas and his committee have added little to what was already known about Hollywood—that there are actors and writers among the swimming pools who, with varying degrees of innocence, salt their high-paid existence with dreams of "the revolution" and even sometimes invest some of their money in it. But the committee has done a fine job of flouting every American precept of the rights of individuals and doing it in the most cowardly way possible—under the protection of its Congressional immunity. Moreover, by holding over Hollywood the threat of such "investigations," it has added to the stultifying pressure of the Hays code still another pressure which should go far toward making American films even more puerile and timid than they already are. We doubt whether the hearings are a prelude to censorship, if only because such exhibitions make official censorship unnecessary. Altogether, a fine day's work—making hash of the Bill of Rights at the American taxpayer's expense. The exposure of a few Communists in Hollywood seems hardly worth the price.

*

AFTER A WEEK OF UNDILUTED NONSENSE, however, the sane public has begun to react. A sober conference in New York on Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties, called last weekend by the Progressive Citizens, converted itself into a crowded demonstration against the Washington hearings and allied varieties of hysteria. Several thousand delegates and plain citizens, overflowing the big ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, adopted a series of resolutions calling for abolition of the Thomas Committee and revocation of the President's loyalty tests. At the same time, Americans for Democratic Action, in New York, issued a strong attack on the committee signed by a wide assortment of writers and other professional people. And two official protests have come from the Motion Picture Association—one by Paul V. McNutt, special counsel for the association, and one by Eric Johnston, its president. This is a good beginning. A few more well-aimed rebuttals may bring to an early close the Washington run of Mr. Thomas's melodrama.

*

THE IRANIAN MAJLIS HAS DECIDED TO REJECT the proposed Russian oil concession in Azerbaijan province and to refuse all further foreign participation in the development of oil resources. This action was hardly surprising after Premier Ghavam, who signed the tentative agreement with the Soviet government in 1946, asked for its nullification. Moscow will certainly feel that it has been double-crossed and is sure to protest bitterly, even if it does not immediately take other steps. However, the Soviet case is weakened by the undeniable fact that the concession agreement was signed under duress while the Red Army was occupying part of Iran and encouraging a separatist movement in Azerbaijan. In deciding on its present action, the Iranian government has undoubtedly been emboldened by American moral and material support. We have recently granted that country a $25,000,000 arms loan, and our ambassador in Teheran pointedly declared, just before the oil debate started in the Majlis, that "the United States is firm in its conviction that any proposals made by one sovereign government to another should not be accompanied by threats." According to rumor, this public declaration has been backed up by still stronger private assurances to the Iranian government. The British government, on the other hand, is said to have advised Teheran to leave open a door for further negotiations with Moscow should the concession be turned down. This advice may not have been wholly disinterested, since the barring of Russia was likely to raise questions about the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's profitable concession in the south. And the Majlis program, in fact, includes negotiations with Anglo-Iranian for larger royalty payments. Nevertheless, the British suggestion was wise. Iran cannot develop its oil without

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

COVER
Sketch *by Bernard Golden*

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 459
The President Acts 461
American Success Story *by Freda Kirchwey* 462

ARTICLES
New Line-up in France *by Louis Lévy* 463
Who's a Warmonger? *by J. King Gordon* 464
The Catholic Church in Medicine *by Paul Blanshard* 466
Korean Diary *by Hugh Deane* 469
Everybody's Business: Grapes Without Wrath *by Keith Hutchison* 472
In the Wind 474
The Fight for "P. R." *by George H. Hallett, Jr.* 475
Vambery of Hungary *by Del Vayo* 476

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
The Jameses *by F. W. Dupee* 477
In The Camp There Was One Alive *A Poem by Randall Jarrell* 477
The Machinery of Society *by Bjarne Braatoy* 478
Out of the Resistance *by René Blanc-Roos* 478
Numbers, Space, and Time *by Benjamin Harrow* 479
Racial Mores in Brazil *by Ralph Bates* 479
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 480
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 481
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 482

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 484

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 235 *by Frank W. Lewis* 485

Editor: Freda Kirchwey

European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Staff Contributors
J. King Gordon, Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams
Aylmer Vallance, Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates
Assistant Editor Jerry Tallmer
Copy Editor Gladys Whiteside
Research Editor Doris W. Tanz
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: William B. Brown
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1947, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One Year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year; Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles. Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

foreign capital and technical assistance. Moreover, if there really is oil in quantity in northern Iran, Russia is the only practicable market for it.

✕

A CLASH BETWEEN THE BRITISH LABOR government and the House of Lords was bound to come. When the Attlee Cabinet took office, it seemed probable that the upper chamber would throw out some vital bill passed by the Commons—thereby holding it up for two years—and create the kind of situation that led Asquith and Lloyd George, in 1911, to go to the electorate on the issue of the Peers versus the People. For the past two years, however, their lordships have behaved very circumspectly: they have done nothing in particular and done it very well, refraining from challenges to the government on matters of principle and confining their activities to suggesting technical amendments to bills. But if they have kept their power under wraps, they and everyone else have been conscious of the fact that it existed, ready to be unleashed at the strategic moment. Most people thought this moment would come when the government moved to nationalize the steel industry, as it was pledged to do by its election program. For various reasons, that bill has been postponed until next year, which means that the Lords, by virtue of their authority to reject bills for a maximum of two consecutive sessions, would be able to stymie it until after another general election. Consequently, the Labor government has decided to take the offensive by introducing legislation limiting the Lords' power of delay to one year. That seems to us a pretty mild way of dealing with what is, after all, a hopeless anachronism. In fact, from this distance, it is a little difficult to understand why people we respect, like the editors of the Manchester *Guardian*, are so stirred up. Their theory seems to be that the government's action will tend to destroy national unity at a time of crisis. But attached as the British are to historical monuments, we cannot believe that they are going to split badly as the result of this modest effort to whittle down hereditary privilege.

✕

THE TWO SUBCOMMITTEES ON PALESTINE —one to deal with partition, the other with the Arab demand for a "unitary state"—are struggling, as we go to press, with an almost impossible assignment. They were directed to send to the full committee, by Wednesday of this week, concrete proposals for carrying out their respective solutions. Since such basic and controversial problems are involved as the administration of Palestine during an interim period and the enforcement of whatever decision is reached, it seems likely that the discussions will drag on for some time. This is the more probable, since the appointment of the two groups was accomplished only after a series of unsavory intrigues

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and maneuvers too complex to recite here. In the end, Dr. Evatt overruled several attempts to load the subcommittees with members whose only function would be to delay action. Perhaps the most challenging and yet hopeful aspect of the whole situation is the presence of Russia and the United States on the subcommittee dealing with partition. As its only big-power members, these two are faced with the salutary necessity of working together toward an end both have publicly espoused. If they are able to agree on a plan to carry out the partition proposal, it will surely be adopted; in such circumstances, Britain would not and could oppose it. But the problems they must meet involve issues in which power politics might easily play a destructive part. At this moment, the subcommittee has become a test tube in which the capacity of Russia and the United States to cooperate in a specific action will presently be proved. The result has an importance far outweighing the Palestine issue itself.

*

THE THREE HOUSING AMENDMENTS TO BE voted on in New York State in themselves present no unusual features. They simply call for $135,000,000 to be lent to the cities for housing and raise the maximum state subsidy by $4,000,000 and the amount of subsidy contracts that can be made in any year by a half-million. But New York State is pivotal politically. How New York votes on housing will affect the 1948 party platforms. Some Republican diehards now think Senator Taft was shrewd to support low-rent housing. The Republican-dominated Joint Investigation Committee on Housing is touring the country, ostensibly to find out about conditions but actually to determine just how "hot" housing is. Another reason for national interest is the position of Mr. Dewey. At the beginning of the year, the Governor thought he could prevent the submission of any housing amendment this year and thereby pick up positive support from the American Legion and the real-estate lobby. Now that it seems evident that the veterans' vote may hinge on housing, Mr. Dewey behaves as though he were the loving parent of the amendments. The main danger lies in public lethargy. Last year, only one in three voting citizens voted on the housing amendment. Since this is an off year, with several other propositions to pass on, the real-estate lobby is hoping that the housing amendments will fail. Mr. Dewey's Republican cronies have never liked public housing either. They view Mr. Dewey's support as purely strategic and will, as before, do what they can to side with the lobby. But unexpectedly there has been a big registration. Why? Outside of a judgeship fight in New York City between able Representative Benjamin J. Rabin and the Dewey-sponsored J. Edward Lumbard, Jr., there are no important battles. Is it because housing has really become a live political issue?

The President Acts

NOW that we have failed to save the world by forgoing chicken every Thursday, it is heartening that President Truman has resumed the leadership which the country rightly expects from the White House. In the continuing tug-of-war between his two groups of advisers, the Missouri provincials won a minor skirmish in the President's recent outlandish remarks on price controls and the "police state," only to lose a major engagement in his bold decision to call Congress in special session.

The decision did require a measure of courage, because there is no doubt that the Republicans, bending the Administration's urgency to their own purposes, will exact a price for their cooperation. One has only to note the comments of their leaders to be convinced that the making of political hay is in prospect. "Everything will be before us," was Senator Taft's prompt reaction, and he has announced that taxes will be one of the first matters considered. It may be recalled in this connection that it was Representative Clarence Brown, now Taft's Presidential campaign manager, who, in the last session, raised the slogan "No tax relief, no foreign relief." Speaker of the House Martin has served notice that Congress will "take up any domestic issue" that seems necessary, and Senator Ferguson, who at first opposed a special session, now thinks it "a good idea."

Since this intention to throw the session wide open was foreseen as a major danger, there is naturally speculation as to why the President, in announcing his decision, chose to stress the highly controversial cost-of-living issue rather than the crisis in Western Europe. Legislation on prices is all but certain to involve protracted wrangling on the Hill, while European relief, which has been steadily winning support among hitherto hostile Congressmen, is almost sure to be approved. Nor is there much doubt that it was pressure from Secretary of State Marshall and our principal European ambassadors that prompted Truman to act rather than a sudden conviction that only immediate legislation could check run-away prices. But it is our own belief that, in this instance, the President has combined an act of statesmanship with a political shrewdness none too common in this Administration. By calling the session, he assures Western Europe of stop-gap aid, and by giving the domestic crisis as his chief reason, he once again puts the responsibility for checking inflation squarely on Congress, where it belongs.

We do not know what specific inflationary curbs the President will propose, but there are strong hints out of Washington that they will include some kind of control on the prices of a few key commodities imposed at the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

source of production, government allocation of crucial materials, and extended import-export controls—all of which, by the way, were urged editorially in the September 20 issue of this magazine. We hope that Congress will adopt some such program, but if it does, we shall be greatly surprised if it fails to demand a quid pro quo in the form of reduced taxation. Politically, such a course would make sense in a pre-election year, but economically it makes none at all. Less money in the Treasury will not serve the purposes of the Marshall Plan, and more money in the pockets of the public will further stimulate inflation. Thus, in one neat stroke, both purposes of the special session might be seriously undermined by the "bargain."

Republicans who are not willing to press a political advantage to such lengths would do well to consider the formula worked out by Senator Morse of Oregon, amounting to a tax-reduction bill with a delayed fuse. Under the Morse proposal, the cut would become effective at some future date, to be fixed either by the President, subject to a Congressional veto, or by Congress, subject to a Presidential veto. In this way, the reduction would be assured, but it would be timed to events and made to serve as a brake on a sliding economy rather than an encouragement to further inflation.

Whatever the domestic political perils involved, the President has done the right thing. He has arrested a dangerous tendency toward government by drift, he has administered a psychological shot-in-the-arm to the despairing peoples of Western Europe, and he has imparted to his own country a sorely needed sense of how grave the situation has become.

American Success Story

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

CABLING from Athens to the New York *Herald Tribune* on October 22, Joseph Alsop used these words: "In our vague, somnambulist way, we have already begun to act abroad like the great power we are." And he goes on to urge that we do it consciously, methodically, using all needed resources. But what is unconscious or somnambulistic about our behavior in Greece? Mr. Alsop describes Americans taking over the Greek administration—not as advisers but in "key positions in the more important ministries." He tells how they are balancing the budget, revamping the tax system, insisting on the dismissal of 15,000 civil servants. (He does not explain what effect budget-balancing will have in a country with a miserably small income whose heavy military expenses are being expanded, not reduced.) Mr. Alsop says that the Americans understand the job they are doing and feel right at home doing it. Greek officials, he reports, are delighted and have shown their satisfaction by inviting the Americans to "extend their responsibilities still more immensely by advising on the military operations of the Greek army." Later press dispatches announce that Washington has accepted the invitation. Somnambulistic? The word hardly seems to fit this brisk readiness to run a foreign state and direct a civil war.

Then there is our triumph in the United Nations. The same paper that carried Mr. Alsop's vivid story reported the adoption by the General Assembly of the American resolution setting up a United Nations border watch to protect the Greek frontier. The only votes against the resolution were cast by the Slav bloc, and Vishinsky's demand that Anglo-American armed forces be withdrawn from Greece was turned down by the same overwhelming majority. Was this American initiative also a sign of somnambulism? Or is it clear, by this time, that the Truman Doctrine, launched as a strategic military-political move against Russia in the Balkans, has been carefully elaborated into a system of full-fledged intervention, sanctioned and buttressed at last by the United Nations? Forgotten is the unilateral character of our initial action, forgotten the idea that "aid" to Greece might have been administered through a United Nations agency; today, American policy is practically U. N. policy, and Moscow, not Washington, is by-passing the international organization with its threat to boycott the border commission.

America in the right, Russia in the wrong, Griswold running Greece, a U. N. commission on the border to ward off Slav aggression—if these be the results of United States sleep-walking, one awaits with trepidation the hour when consciousness returns.

BUT while these evidences of firm purpose and firmer control accumulate, other events in Greece suggest that America's democratic intervention has its limits—perhaps self-imposed. Americans boss government departments and agencies, and prepare to boss the army. But apparently neither they nor their front man, the venerable Premier Sophoulis, has anything to do with the administration of justice. On October 20 and 21, just before the Alsop story appeared, dispatches from Athens reported that Communist newspapers had been suppressed and fifty-odd "alleged Communist guerrillas and sympathizers" had been executed after trial by extraordinary courts martial.

Since civil war is raging in Greece, one would normally expect captured partisans to receive summary punishment. But this civil war has been taken over and called something different by the Americans. It has been called a "defense of constitutional government" and "restoration of order." If we can plunge in and run administrative agencies with the bland self-confi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dence Mr. Alsop describes, one would think we might also check the sort of repressions we criticize so sharply in other neighboring countries. It is true, of course, that we engineered the amnesty offer and had some political exiles brought back from the islands. But the amnesty has failed; not, I suppose, because the guerrillas want a war to the death, but because they have little confidence in a government that imprisons and executes leftists and suppresses newspapers while ostensibly conforming to the democratic susceptibilities of its great protector. Two Communist newspapermen, by the way, were fined and sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment the other day for spreading "false reports" and stories "insulting" to Dwight Griswold. According to Dana Adams Schmidt, writing from Athens in the New York *Times* of October 21, Premier Sophoulis, having had so disappointing a response to his amnesty offer, must now carry out his promise to "exterminate the minority serving foreign interests." The quotes are the Premier's.

THAT the Soviet Union has helped bring about the American success, no one but Vishinsky and his colleagues would deny. The Americans baited a trap and caught the Russians in it. By going well beyond the findings of the U. N. commission of investigation and placing all blame for Greece's border troubles on the Balkan states—and inferentially on the U. S. S. R.—the United States jockeyed the Russians into a position of intransigence that cost them considerable neutral support. Many states were reluctant to accept the American formula; first, because they genuinely wanted conciliation rather than a deadlock, second, because they know that the Balkan states cannot justly be shouldered with sole responsibility for the Greek struggle. It was this feeling which finally forced the United States to modify its resolution, withdrawing the direct charge against Greece's neighbors and substituting a milder, but still incriminating, reference to the findings of the Security Council's investigating commission.

By that time, Russia was committed with utmost violence to the position that no version of the American formula could be accepted and only the withdrawal of Britain and the United States would end the trouble in Greece. Since this view was as well calculated to anger the two Western powers as the American resolution was to anger Russia, the results were increased ill-feeling and a final showdown in which even the most conciliatory Western delegates felt obliged to vote with the United States.

Why was it necessary for Russia to force the issue to this point? A more moderate course might have won the Soviet delegation a major strategic victory along with increased respect. If they had indorsed the principle of a border commission while insisting on strict impartiality in its composition and terms of reference and rejecting all imputations of one-sided guilt, their position would have been almost impregnable. Such an attitude would have exposed the provocative bias of the American resolution and undoubtedly won over a large number of delegates. But the Russians rejected compromise in favor of denunciation. They buried their best arguments in a thunder of invective. They demanded all or nothing; and America consequently walked off with a total victory it did not deserve.

New Line-up in France

BY LOUIS LEVY

FROM New York it is rather difficult to see clearly what has happened in France in the last ten days. The American press has given a curiously distorted picture of the French elections and subsequent developments, and official French figures on the vote of the various parties are not yet available.

None the less it is already possible to draw a few general conclusions. The first is that the Gaullist threat is now out in the open; the General's *Rassemblement* received more than 30 per cent of the total ballots cast. The second is that the working-class parties have by and large held their own. Despite the economic crisis and the difficulties encountered since liberation, the French masses are not taken in by the verbiage of apprentice dictators. In this connection the consolidation of the Socialist Party is especially significant: contrary to predictions of American correspondents in Paris, it resisted the double assault of Gaullists and Communists and on the whole maintained its positions intact.

It would be futile to try to gauge the extent to which foreign policy, notably the formation of the Communist Committee of Warsaw, influenced the French voter. Unquestionably it played a part; in the Paris region, for example, the Gaullists cut deep into the Communist vote. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that the feature of these elections was the consolidation of the left positions on the one hand and the absorption of the right and center forces—the P. R. L., the M. R. P., and the Radical Socialists—by the Gaullist *Rassemblement*, on the other. The latter process may have been accelerated by recent developments abroad, but signs of it have been apparent for several months. And De Gaulle naturally did his best to speed the realignment.

LOUIS LEVY, French journalist and writer, is correspondent of the Populaire *in London and now at the Assembly of the U. N. He is also delegate of the Executive of the French Socialist Party in Great Britain.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The collapse of the M. R. P. should surprise no one familiar with the history of French politics. In the period before the war the Christian Democratic left never succeeded in penetrating the strongholds of Catholicism. The spectacular rise of the M. R. P. after the war was due to a special combination of circumstances, involving the Resistance and the role played by men like Georges Bidault and Francisque Gay. Today, however, it is plain that the church has withdrawn support from the left Catholics, an augury which gives little reassurance as to the political intentions of the Vatican.

TWO or three days before the elections Léon Blum delivered an important speech at the Vélodrome d'Hiver in Paris. The chief of the Socialist Party affirmed the determination of the French people to be neither "Americanized" nor "Sovietized." His most serious reproach to the Communist Committee of Warsaw was its acceptance of two blocs in Europe as a *fait accompli*. He declared that socialism must exert every effort to prevent the formation of antagonistic East-West blocs. Finally, after denouncing De Gaulle's "Caesarism," Blum warned against aggravating the present differences between the two wings of the working class, whose unity may prove necessary in the coming struggle.

In the light of this speech I confess that Premier Ramadier's recent Cabinet shake-up was somewhat unexpected. I broach this subject with infinite caution, having thus far received no detailed information from Paris. Apparently if Ramadier has not moved in the direction of the popular front to which Blum's speech logically pointed, it is because he felt that collaboration with the Communists might not only intensify the split between left and right but also jeopardize the Marshall Plan. He therefore seems to have hit on a centrist formula in order to fight the Gaullists, while at the same time assuring his middle-class supporters that he will strongly resist the maneuvers of the Communists. Ramadier's pledge to these M. R. P. and Radical Socialist elements took the form of sacrificing the two ministers whose *dirigisme* (economic planning) they have violently opposed—André Philip, Minister of National Economy, and Tanguy Prigent, Minister of Agriculture. At the same time he shelved two ministers suspected of Gaullist sympathies—Michelet, Minister of War, and Jacquinot, Minister of Marine. Their posts are now combined in a single Ministry of National Defense headed by Teitgen, an M. R. P. leader who in recent weeks has taken a sharp anti-Gaullist stand. The Ministry of the Interior remains in the hands of Edouard Depreux, who, unlike certain of his Socialist comrades, did not wait until 1946 to discover the danger of Gaullism.

I have tried to explain Ramadier's move on the basis of the few facts at my disposal, without, however, defending it in the least. To my way of thinking it is destined to early failure. The departure of the most "dirigist" ministers has surely created widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Socialist Party—notwithstanding the fact that Philip has been replaced by Jules Moch, also known as a "dirigist." But more important, a considerable number of militant Socialists must now be calling for the creation of a popular front. That is the only way to defeat the Gaullists.

I realize that the Communists have done little to facilitate such a move. Since the Warsaw meeting their attitude toward the Socialists has been increasingly aggressive. I am told, however, that the party's new policy is meeting with resistance: Maurice Thorez himself is said to oppose it. One would be wrong to think of the French Communist Party as a monolith. It is almost impossible for Moscow to maneuver as it pleases a party with the numerical strength of the French Communists. Despite the frequent *maladresses* of the Soviet leaders, they are surely aware of the degree of political and democratic sophistication among the French proletariat.

To save the republic, all republicans are needed—Socialists, Communists, and also those rank-and-file democrats who have voted for the Radicals or even for the Christian Democrats. Although several Radical chieftains have passed over to the Gaullists, Edouard Herriot, true to character, has refused to yield. In such a democratic regrouping the Socialists of the C. G. T. can play a capital role. We must not forget that Léon Jouhaux, who will be back in Paris by early November, was the moving spirit behind the first popular front of 1935.

Who's a Warmonger?

BY J. KING GORDON

Lake Success, October 26

THERE's a wag out here at Lake Success who, after following the debate in Committee 1 for the past week, has come to his own conclusions about warmongering. There are three kinds of warmongering, he has decided: war-fishmongering—or Billingsgate; war-ironmongering—or armament making; and war-ironcurtainmongering—or the perennial East-versus West propaganda barrage.

And if it comes to a matter of undermining the last remaining ties of friendship between us and our former Eastern allies, the Billingsgate of Dr. Bebler must be counted as more effective than the pious self-righteousness of Mr. Austin. And whereas, with Mr. Spaak gone,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is no one left to match the debating energy of Mr. Vishinsky, the overtones of propaganda are so predominant that they almost completely submerge the more cogent strains of his argument.

A psychiatrist friend of mine after reading one of Vishinsky's longer masterpieces said, "That's the talk of a man who is desperately frightened." And it may be that this determined zeal to jail Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Forrestal, Mr. Harriman, and Mr. Churchill—to name just a few on Mr. Vishinsky's list of public enemies—stems from a deep-rooted conviction that war is being plotted by the world's most powerful, bomb-possessing nation. Other possible explanations are (1) that the Soviets and their friends are snared in their own dialectic and feel that the coexistence of capitalism and communism makes war inevitable and the blame had better be laid on the capitalist side before it starts; (2) that, seeing the imminence of the Marshall Plan, the Soviets are making a last desperate bid for Western Europe. It is also possible that they seriously consider the Marshall Plan itself the first big strategic move in the new war: certainly that is what they are saying in both the Political and the Economic Committee.

Unfortunately for the Soviet case, the very violence and intemperance of its proponents are discrediting it. Delegates are beginning to recall with Hector McNeil that back in October, 1939, Britain and France were accused by Mr. Molotov of fomenting war with Germany and that up to June 22, 1941, the Communists in the United States were calling President Roosevelt a warmonger. Nobody likes warmongers and warmongering. But most people object to the terms being used simply to denote people or nations the Soviets don't happen to like. It is the old question of totalitarian reasoning: the opposition is the enemy; the dissenter is the heretic; the fascist is the warmonger. And the only way to deal with the rascals is to put them behind bars.

In the debate, therefore, we have seen the same clash of political philosophies that has occurred before in a good many United Nations committees. It has occurred in the Human Rights Commission in the discussion of a world Bill of Rights. It has appeared in the subcommittee on the Freedom of the Press. It cropped up last week in connection with a Yugoslav resolution in the Social and Humanitarian Committee. It is the basic issue between the principle of freedom of expression and a belief in the control of opinion for the purpose of eliminating error. (And if the principle of freedom of expression, what with loyalty checks and Hollywood quizzes, is becoming more honored here in the breach than in the observance, this, in a free society, is recognized as a temporary corruption and not an accepted practice.) On this issue the Communist Party of 1947 is as rigid as the Catholic church was at the time of the Inquisition. Dr. Evatt may quote Milton's great lines:

> Let truth and falsehood grapple;
> Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter

To the Russians this seems decadent nonsense. Mrs. Roosevelt may insist that the remedy for loose war talk lies not in the curtailment of information but in the vast expansion of information: this is tantamount to a toleration of the evil which destroys.

From a theoretical point of view the conflict is so absolute that there seems no way out but for the Assembly to decide in favor of one approach or the other. And with the democratic nations vastly outnumbering the Russian group it is quite apparent that the Soviet motion to make warmongering a crime will be defeated.

Here the United States, angered by the vicious Soviet attacks, would leave the matter. The majority of delegates, however, aware that there is far too much loose talk of war as well as dangerous misrepresentation of national policies, want a resolution against warmongering and in favor of a positive policy of "peacemongering," to use the phrase of the Canadian delegate, Mr. Ilsley. They realize that improved understanding between nations depends upon a more responsible attitude on the part of press and radio—not only in countries where freedom of expression prevails but in those where the media of information are under state control. It is almost certain, therefore, that a substitute resolution embodying some of the principles of the Australian, Canadian, and French amendments will carry.

It is rather odd that it was Mr. Austin, the American delegate, who emphasized that the prevalent war talk was symptomatic rather than causal. "Talk is a symptom," he said; "we must get at the causes, such as distress, despair, hunger, and ill health." He pointed out that the United States was firmly behind the economic activities of the United Nations and was backing the cooperative efforts of the Western European nations to find a way out of their present crisis. Mr. Austin made his speech the day before President Truman announced the special session of Congress. We thus have the interesting spectacle of the nation which is the outstanding exponent of political and economic individualism espousing the theory of the economic determination of political beliefs and indorsing economic planning to eliminate political expressions which would endanger world peace. It is quite possible, then, that implementation of the Marshall Plan may not mean simply the European projection of American capitalism that the Russians fear. Nor will it mean simply the projection of American individualistic democracy that the Americans anticipate. It may become the basis for a social democracy about which neither Russia nor the United States will be particularly happy but which the Western Europeans want. And it may succeed in cutting down both the talk and the danger of war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Catholic Church in Medicine

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

MOST Americans would be somewhat startled if they picked up a medical journal and read a table of contents like this:

Episcopal Principles of Therapeutic Abortion, by Bishop Sylvanus Bump, D.D.

Baptist Technique for Removing Gall Bladders, by James McCutcheon, S.T.D.

How a Methodist Nurse Should Behave in a Presbyterian Hospital, by Deaconness Matilda Little, M.A.

Jewish Ideals and the Caesarian Operation, by Rabbi Marcus Goldberg, Ph.D.

"I have written these three articles," says Paul Blanshard, "as a challenge to Roman Catholics to examine the social policies of their church's hierarchy. I am convinced that (1) American Catholics are good citizens who (2) are not responsible for the undemocratic policies of their own priests in the fields of medicine and education, and (3) will some day realize that they as Americans must force a change in those policies. Am I right?" The Nation *hopes Mr. Blanshard is right, and that is why it offers these challenging articles to its readers. As to the author, Mr. Blanshard attracted nation-wide attention by his exposure of Tammany graft while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigations and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia. During the war he was a State Department official assigned to the Caribbean, and he has revealed the misery and unrest of that region in his recent book, "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean."*

Denominational excursions into the field of practical medicine are almost unknown among Protestants and Jews. But not among Roman Catholics. The homiletic and ecclesiastical journals of the American priesthood abound in articles by theological writers on specific subjects. Here, for example, are the titles of eight articles and discussions recently published in America's two leading magazines for priests, the *American Ecclesiastical Review* and the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review:* May Circumcision by a Jewish Rabbi Be Done in a Catholic Hospital? May a Catholic Nurse Summon a Non-Catholic Minister? Sterility Tests and Their Morality; The Use of Contraceptives When the Wife Is Sterile; May a Catholic Doctor Employed by the State Perform Eugenic Sterilization? Irradiation of the Ovaries.

The priests of the church are not only spiritual advisers to the Catholic physician and nurse; they exercise authority over them in many areas of professional life, particularly in those of birth, death, and sexual conduct. They tell the Catholic physician and nurse when life begins in the womb, what the surgeon can and cannot do concerning the destruction of the fetus, and what must be done with the child immediately after birth. In the field of sexual conduct they lay down very definite and detailed instructions not only concerning courtship, marriage, and divorce, but concerning contraception, abortion, masturbation, insemination, sterilization, sodomy, and sexual relations. Celibacy does not embarrass the prelates of the church in giving their advice, for they are convinced that virginity is the best preparation for sexual wisdom.

The priests of the church impose upon all Roman Catholics a ritual for the dying and a code of medical etiquette which makes the scene of death in both Catholic and non-Catholic hospitals an effective opportunity for proselyting. They continue to exercise control over physical details after death by making cremation a mortal sin and by excluding the unbaptized from consecrated ground.

Only one phase of this priestly authority in the area of medical conduct has attracted much attention in this country, and that is the Catholic opposition to birth control. When ten distinguished doctors in Connecticut and Massachusetts were arbitrarily removed from the staffs of Catholic hospitals because they supported the right of physicians to give birth-control advice to their married patients, the dismissals excited widespread interest. (I shall discuss this situation in my next article.)

THE story of Roman Catholic medical policy is important. There are 692 Catholic general hospitals in the United States in which nurses and doctors are subject to the church's medical code. About 3,300,000 patients a year are treated in these hospitals, most of them non-Catholics. In many non-Catholic hospitals there are Catholics among the directors who exercise some veto power over medical policies, and Catholic doctors and nurses who obey the injunctions of their priests. The general public is frequently called on by bishops and other members of the hierarchy to support the church's hospitals as broad-gauge humanitarian institutions. The non-Catholic, therefore, is justified in asking certain questions about Catholic medical policy. The questions do not concern the devotion of the Catholic nursing sisters, or the ethical standards of Catholic physicians, or the principles of Catholic worship. They concern the medical dogmas which priests seek to impose upon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Catholics. I shall touch here upon four of these dogmas.

1. *Equality of mother and fetus.* When an American woman approaches the ordeal of childbirth, she takes it for granted that her physician will do everything humanly possible to save her life. I am sure that 99 per cent of American husbands would consider themselves murderers if, confronted with the choice between the life of a wife and the life of her unborn child, they chose the life of the child.

The Catholic hierarchy does not indorse this choice, nor can a good Catholic physician leave such a choice to the husband and father. "The life of each is equally sacred," says Pope Pius XI in his encyclical "Casti Connubii," "and no one has the power, not even the public authority, to destroy it."

Probably the best-known and most authoritative work on Catholic morals is the four-volume "Moral and Pastoral Theology" of the Jesuit priest Henry Davis, published by Sheed and Ward under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Birmingham. Father Davis says (Vol. II, p. 138):

> One of the most distressing problems which surgeons have to face is that of saving the lives of both mother and child in difficult cases of parturition. Each has a right to life and neither has a better right than the other. . . . Where induced abortion, *abortus provocatus,* is the procedure indicated, he [the Catholic doctor] will disregard his textbook and save the mother in some other way, and if there is no other way, he will abandon the case. In the last resort, where nothing whatever can be done to save the mother except abortion, he may not destroy a nascent life directly.

Father Patrick A. Finney in his "Moral Problems in Hospital Practice," reprinted by Herder in 1947 under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of St. Louis, is even more specific. He says (p. 60) in a series of questions and replies:

> If it is morally certain that a pregnant mother and her unborn child will both die if the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, but at the same time the attending physician is morally certain that he can save the mother's life by removing the inviable fetus, is it lawful for him to do so?
>
> *Answer.* No, it is not. Such a removal of the fetus would be direct abortion.

Dr. Austin O'Malley in his "The Ethics of Medical Homicide and Mutilation," published under the imprimatur of the late Cardinal Farley, stated the philosophy behind this principle:

> The assertion that an undeveloped fetus in the womb is not as valuable as the mother of a family is beside the question, and in certain vital distinctions it is untrue. Any human life as such, whether in a fetus or an adult, is as valuable as another, inasmuch as no one but God has any authority to destroy it, except when it has lost its right to exist through culpable action. Secondly, the quality of motherhood is an accidental addition to a mother's life, not substantial as is the life itself. This quality of motherhood does not create any juridic imbalance of values which justifies the destruction of the rights inherent in the fetus. That the fetus may not be able to enjoy these rights if the mother dies is, again, an irrelevant consideration. . . . An innocent fetus an hour old may not be directly killed to save the lives of all the mothers in the world.

Is it surprising that younger American Catholic women are reacting against this doctrine with considerable horror? Recently when a young priest in a Massachusetts city ventured to expound the dogma of the equality of mother and fetus to an audience of young Catholic matrons he was so heckled by his infuriated listeners that the meeting was almost broken up.

As for Catholic physicians, they must pay lip service to the doctrine because it comes directly from the Pope, but in practice they use a loophole in the law which has been developed by the Jesuit casuists who control every full-term Catholic medical college in the United States. This loophole permits an *indirect* killing of a fetus in the process of saving the mother if an operation is necessary to remedy "an acute diseased condition." Not many Catholic physicians are so stupid that they cannot discover "an acute diseased condition." But officially they are still bound by the rigid dictum of the Holy See that therapeutic abortion is always a crime, although the courts of every state in the union recognize its legality when the life of the mother is at stake, and although the vast majority of American doctors consider therapeutic abortion under such circumstances to be a moral obligation.

The hierarchy goes so far as to direct Catholic legislators publicly that they "may not approve" of any measures designed to legalize therapeutic abortion. The words are those of Father Francis J. Connell, associate professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America, in his "Morals in Politics and Professions," published under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Baltimore-Washington.

2. *The doctrine of the sacred head.* Since the primary concern of the church at childbirth is the salvation of the soul, and since the soul of the fetus is equal to the soul of the mother, the head of the fetus as the probable seat of the soul becomes the center of moral attention in the delivery-room. All Catholic nurses and doctors are bound by strict injunction to observe the sacredness of the head of the fetus.

The negative rule is that the head of the fetus must never be operated on directly even to save the life of the mother and even if the head is that of a monster. "If craniotomy is absolutely indicated," says Father Davis (Vol. II, p. 165), "a Catholic doctor must give up the case, but he is not thereby precluded from telling

LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those whom it may concern that other medical advice must be got, or rather may be got." Father Davis does not explain what a mother in childbirth should do when she is abandoned by a Catholic physician and no other physician is available.

The affirmative rules concerning the sacredness of the fetal head are chiefly concerned with baptism. Sister Mary Berenice Beck in her "The Nurse: Handmaid of the Divine Physician" (Lippincott, imprimatur of the Archbishop of St. Louis), directs Catholic nurses to reach the head of the fetus with the sacred water of baptism at the first possible instant in order to make sure that the soul is saved before death comes. In cases of difficult delivery the nurse is urged not to wait for actual birth. "If the head protrudes," says Sister Beck (p. 48), "it may be baptized absolutely." If the head does not protrude, the nurse may baptize what she sees, and later baptize the head conditionally to cover the contingency that she might not have reached the head the first time.

Every Catholic nurse "has a serious obligation, obliging her under pain of sin, to baptize an infant in danger of death, whether of Catholic or non-Catholic parents." This is because the fetus is not innocent but is tainted with original sin.

> The water must be applied to the head [says Sister Beck]. If water is not available, baptism cannot be administered. Not much water is needed, but there must be enough so that it can be said to flow. . . . Milk, juice of fruits, oil, excretions from the body as tears, saliva, perspiration, etc., are not considered water. . . . Unbaptized infants who die are deprived forever of the sight of God (that is, are barred from heaven); hence it is important that every effort be made to baptize infants in danger of death.

The deep concern of the church for the transmission of divine grace via the head of the fetus extends even to monstrosities. Sister Beck says:

> If there are two or more heads and one body, baptize one head absolutely, the others conditionally. If there are two chests but only one head, baptize the head absolutely and each of the chests conditionally.

3. *The doctrine of protection against heresy.* Included in the Catholic code for nurses are provisions for protecting patients against heresy. Catholic nurses are instructed not to accord Protestant or Jewish clergymen equal treatment with Catholic priests even when the hospital is a non-Catholic institution and the patient is a Protestant or Jew. One of the official purveyors of this doctrine is the leading Catholic proselytist in America, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen. Charles McFadden's "Medical Ethics for Nurses" (Davis, imprimatur of Cardinal Dougherty), for which Monsignor Sheen wrote a foreword, says (p. 333):

> The request of a non-Catholic patient for a minister of his own religion presents some minor difficulties. The Catholic nurse realizes that there is only one true church of Christ, and she firmly believes that the Roman Catholic church is that church. She cannot therefore regard any other church either as the church of Christ or as the true religion in its entirety. For these reasons she may neither encourage nor assist any person in the practice of what she is convinced is a false religion.
>
> The Catholic nurse, therefore, may not summon the official of any other religion for the express purpose of having him minister to members of his church. To do so would be a direct encouragement and aid to another in the practice of a religion which she believes to be false.

The Sheen-McFadden gospel is not one of reciprocity. Catholic nurses are instructed (p. 203) to baptize dying non-Catholic infants stealthily if it cannot be done openly, thus bringing them within the blessed fold of the church:

> If a certain medicine were absolutely needed to save the physical life of a child, a doctor or nurse would give it, even though the parents were unwilling. The attitude of such parents would be unreasonable. . . . When the unreasonable attitude of the parents is evident, the nurse should quietly baptize the dying child without knowledge of the parents.

4. *The doctrine of ectopic pregnancy.* The knottiest obstetrical problem worrying American priests in recent years is that of ectopic pregnancy, and in the ecclesiastical journals they discuss it with solemn ferocity. One of the main reasons for the anxiety is a sweeping decision by the Holy See in 1902.

An ectopic fetus—that is, one conceived outside the womb, in the fallopian tubes—if allowed to continue its natural growth, is likely to kill both the mother and itself. Even if it is removed by an operation in the later stages, the mother's life is always endangered and the child is frequently deformed. Usually the fetus dies before or shortly after "birth." The one way to guarantee the survival of the mother is the surgical removal of the fetus as soon as the abnormal condition is discovered.

In view of the papal ban on all therapeutic abortion American priests have asked: Should the life of the mother be sacrificed in such cases to permit a problematical survival of an abnormal fetus for a few hours? Until last year the weight of Catholic authority favored sacrificing the mother. Father Finney in his "Moral Problems in Hospital Practice" (p. 135) says:

> *Question 35:* In a case of ectopic pregnancy which has been diagnosed as a case of unruptured tubal pregnancy is it lawful, before the term of viability, to remove the unruptured tube with the living fetus as a means of forestalling the danger to the mother's life upon the rupture of the tube?
>
> *Answer.* No, it is not lawful. Such a removal is a direct killing of the fetus and is therefore forbidden.

The Congregation of the Holy Office gave essentially the same answer on March 5, 1902. But, for once,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American and British Catholics have rebelled. Perhaps some of them dared to ask themselves what an American jury might think about the problem. When the life of a Catholic mother is sacrificed for the life of a *normal* fetus, a jury might accept the priestly mathematics involved as religion, but it might use an uglier word if the life of the mother was sacrificed in a case of ectopic pregnancy for a hypothetical one-one-hundredth of a normal life-prospect. No clear-cut case of such a death has ever come before an American jury, and it never will now, for the Jesuits have begun a strategic retreat from an untenable moral position. They are "reinterpreting" the papal doctrine to fit the American conscience.

Father Davis, in his above-mentioned book, did not venture to defy the Holy See openly on this policy, but he published the written opinions of scores of Catholic physicians to the effect that "tubal pregnancy is not only a pathological condition but is far more dangerous than cancer of the uterus." American priests began to quote this opinion cautiously, and finally the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* of October, 1945, in answer to a question about ectopic pregnancy made the flat admission:

> Medical men today are quite commonly agreed that tubal pregnancy constitutes a pathological condition and is as much a threat to the mother's health as a cancerous uterus. The theologians of the past century who held that it was gravely sinful to remove an unruptured tube containing a living fetus, because such a procedure is direct killing, were right in their principle but wrong in their facts. . . . It is not direct but indirect killing.

Even the Sheen-McFadden book gave its blessing to this "interpretation," and thus far no excommunications have taken place. Some ecclesiastical scholars will undoubtedly discover by special research in the near future that the edict of 1902 was never intended to prevent the surgical removal of an ectopic fetus. Meanwhile, the admiration of the observer for the hierarchy's skill in adjusting itself to a changing world is modified by one disturbing question: How many Catholic women died between 1902 and 1945 while their priests were "right in their principle but wrong in their facts"?

This whole story of ectopic clericalism illustrates the hierarchy's technique of medical control. When an American Catholic wants to know what is morally permissible in the field of medicine he gets his bishop to forward a question to Rome to the Congregation of the Holy Office, a committee of cardinals and their celibate associates, headed by the Pope. The Catholic people of the United States have nothing to say about the membership of this committee or its policies. It is chosen and guided entirely from above, and of course it never includes a woman or an American doctor. Yet its decisions are binding on pain of excommunication on every Catholic doctor and nurse in the United States.

[*The second article of this series, to appear next week, will discuss the position of the Roman Catholic church on birth control, marriage, and divorce.*]

Korean Diary

BY HUGH DEANE

Seoul, Korea, September 25

ON JULY 19 Lyuh Woon-hyung, the most respected liberal leader of South Korea, was shot down on the streets of Seoul. Writing of his murder—and his long struggle for Korean independence—in *The Nation* of September 6, I said that perhaps like Sun Yat-sen he had died at the right time: he was "temperamentally a moderate, and it was hard for him to see his friends going to the right or the left." Since his death the division within the people has sharpened, and the repression of the left has become even more severe. The terrorism practiced by the rightist police, with the support of the American occupation, is clearly revealed by a chronological summary of the events of the last two months.

HUGH DEANE is Far Eastern correspondent for the Allied Labor News.

July 24: Cho Pyung-ok, head of the South Korean police and member of the Hankook Democratic Party, controlled by the notorious Syngman Rhee, told a group of visiting American editors, "It is a bitter fact that a group of political and social organizations in South Korea, inspired by the north . . . are executing a plot to destroy what the South Korean Interim Government is trying to build up. . . . It would be contrary to common sense to treat them on an equal basis with the other group, which is patriotic and pro-American."

July 25: Terrorists attacked a meeting of 1,200 Seoul Electric Company workers as it was dispersing and seriously wounded three. Police arrived and carried off seven truckloads of the workers. They had voted to attend the People's Front rally and had demanded reinstatement of 375 workers fired after the March general strike.

The New York *Times* reported, "The North Korea radio has been demanding 'physical attacks' upon Kim Koo and Dr. Syngman Rhee, rightist leaders, in retalia-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion for the assassination of Lyuh Woon-hyung." This report was based on a curious mistranslation by official United States monitors. According to South Korean newspapers, the broadcast had urged that the reactionaries be dealt a "fatal blow."

July 26: United States G-2 began to release reports of violence, actual or threatened. By August 14 it had reported some thirty instances, in half of which leftists were held responsible. Considering the bias of both the carefully screened G-2 personnel and the Korean police, their major source of information, this proportion is remarkable. Among the incidents noted were these:

> About thirty members from both the rightist Kwangbok Young Men's Association and the General Youth League for Rapid Realization [or Acceleration—H. D.] of Korean Independence attacked the Kwangju Normal School dormitory last week and beat two teachers and one student. Students . . . have since formed a "Self-Defense Body."
>
> A group of rightist terrorists who are alleged to be from the Northwest Korean Youth Association recently invaded an art exhibit which was under the sponsorship of the Taejon leftist Artists' Alliance. The vandals tore down and destroyed all the paintings. None . . . were apprehended.

July 27: Fifty thousand people carrying banners of the People's Front climbed South Mountain to celebrate the reconvening of the U. S.– U. S. S. R. Joint Commission. This was destined to be the last authorized political assembly of the left. Major General A. E. Brown and Colonel General T. F. Shtikov, chiefs of the American and Soviet delegations to the commission, addressed the gathering. General Brown explained that the American "concept of democracy" and the "right of the individual" forbade the exclusion of "certain large rightist parties" from consultation. A Korean speaker who followed him said: "General Brown spoke of individual rights. But do we have such rights in South Korea today? In South Korea there is brutal terrorism and oppression of the people." This man was arrested by police as he stepped from the rostrum, before the eyes of the Soviet general. General Brown had left when it started to rain.

The meeting broke up in a monsoon downpour. As the crowd thinned out, terrorists waylaid them in the alleys and beat them up, saying, "You have been to South Mountain. We know because you are soaking wet."

July 27 to August 1: The workers paid the penalty for daring to go to South Mountain. About 350 girl workers had managed to get out of the Kyungbong textile factory (run by Kim Sung-soo, chairman of Rhee's Hankook Democratic Party) to go to the meeting before the police locked the gate. When they came back, the management fired nine ringleaders. Eight hundred girls then threatened to strike if the nine were not taken back. The management called in a hundred or more terrorists from the Great Korea Federation of Labor—supreme adviser, Syngman Rhee—and let them invade the girls' dormitory; fifty-four girls were injured, four severely.

At the Seoul Electric Company thirty-two men and seven women were loaded into a truck and taken to Won Hyun Palace, headquarters of Rhee's General Youth League for Korean Independence, where they were beaten. When workers at the plant gathered in protest, the police dispersed them and arrested six, charging that they planned to "sabotage the transformer." The beaten workers were afterward fired, along with eleven others.

July 28: A G-2 report described how other People's Front meetings had been broken up:

> In Yonan . . . the police chief announced that he had arrested forty-two students attempting to organize a left-wing meeting. In Paekchon . . . police announced the arrest of forty students for attempting to organize a leftist meeting. In Kangning no meeting occurred, possibly because of the presence in jail of 200 left-wing leaders. In Chochiwon . . . an orderly pro-commission meeting was held by 700 Communists. In Ochwon . . . police broke up an unauthorized meeting of 5,000 leftists. . . . A group of 3,000 refused to disperse. Police broke it up, killing five and making several arrests.

Colonel J. N. Robinson, assistant chief of staff for G-2, told me that since April terrorism had increased steadily from one or two incidents weekly to three or four daily. In his opinion the left had formerly been primarily responsible, but since spring the rightists had been most often guilty. He said that the leftists were now on "good behavior." In a discussion of G-2 reports on Communist threats to use violence against Americans, Colonel Robinson said that up to that time not a single American soldier had been attacked for political reasons.

August 2: Hong Jeung-sik, general secretary of the People's Front, and two other People's Front leaders were summoned to police headquarters for a conference and jailed. Three days later the police announced that they were charged with violation of General MacArthur's Proclamation 2, issued September 7, 1945, which declares that any person who "does any act calculated to disturb public peace and order . . . shall upon conviction . . . suffer death or . . . other punishment." One of the men arrested was alleged to have "misinformed" the public in a magazine article.

August 5: The police announced the discovery of a Communist plot in the Seoul radio station. Fourteen employees had been arrested and the informer was in protective custody. On August 12 James W. Browitt, American adviser to the station, told me that the Communists had had a three-point program—working propaganda into the programs, spying on American personnel, and causing mechanical breakdowns during rightist broadcasts. A police official charged that the reds planned to blow up the station, "if worse came to worst."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

August 6: Rhee's Society for Acceleration of Korean Independence congratulated the police for efficient "maintenance of law and order."

August 11 to 15: Large-scale arrests throughout South Korea, coupled with intensified terrorism, drove the left underground. The Americans had in effect given the police a blank check in conferences of high officials. One American official said later, "G-2 did not know how far the police would go and frantically tried to find out what was going on. But the line was to back the police whatever they did."

All offices of leftist political parties, trade unions, the farmers' union, and similar groups were raided and closed by the police. Roughly 2,000 arrests were made; about half were released within a few days. A few arrests were also made by the American Counter-Intelligence Corps.

Most of those arrested were leaders or staff workers of the twenty-four parties and groups affiliated with the People's Front. A great number of key leftists escaped, however, thanks to long-standing precautionary measures. Many liberal teachers, writers, artists, newspapermen, and lawyers were rounded up, among them the co-chairman and general secretary of the Civil Liberties Union; Shin Nam-chul, former professor of philosophy at Seoul University; Che Chong-wan, mathematician; Pak Choon-yung, principal of Hansung Middle School; An Yong-il, theatrical producer; and Yu Chin-oh, a poet who had just completed a year in prison for reading a subversive poem at a mass-meeting.

During this period right-wing terrorists in Seoul and elsewhere searched homes, beat up leftists and suspected leftists, confined and tortured selected individuals in private prisons, and raided leftist offices and newspaper plants. On the fourteenth a group of leftist newspapermen were arrested as they left a Soviet press conference. By the fifteenth about half the leftist press had suspended publication. On August 13 Kim Kok-tong, member of the central committee of the centrist Socialist Democratic Party, was kidnapped. His body was found in the gutter on the fourteenth.

After August 15 arrests continued on a lesser scale; terrorism subsided to the high level which had prevailed before the eleventh. By the nineteenth several leftist papers were able to resume publication.

August 12: The South Korean Interim Assembly was urged by the late Major General A. L. Lerch, military governor, to pass the pending election law "as soon as possible," even if it had to disregard the criticisms of the draft law made previously by Brigadier General C. G. Helmick, then acting military governor. The assembly quickly passed the law, disregarding all but one of Helmick's criticisms.

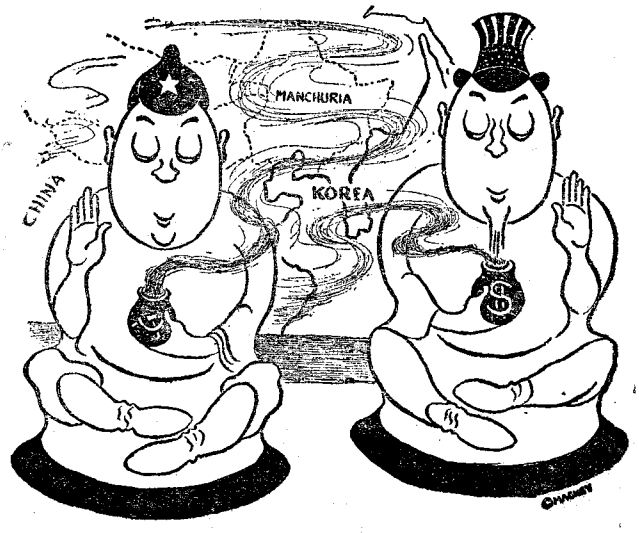
August 13: The legislative assembly received a request from General Helmick that Ordinance 88, pertaining to the press, be amended to provide for cancelation of licenses of newspapers publishing reports which were false or calculated to agitate the people. (In fact, two leftist newspapers in Pusan had just been suppressed on such grounds.)

August 15: The second anniversary of Korea's liberation was officially celebrated at Seoul Stadium. Rightist youth-corps members booed and jeered both General Shtikov and Civil Administrator Ahn Chai-hong, moderate rightist and associate of Kim Kiu-sic.

August 20: Cho Pyung-ok, the police chief, told me a plot involving the entire People's Front had been discovered, directed from North Korea. "Of course we can prove little connection with North Korea; naturally they keep these things secret." He cited various acts of leftist terrorism: seventy-eight policemen in all had been killed, 60 in the Taegu riots of last October, and 494 rifles had been stolen.

August 22: After a statement by the Soviet delegation had protested against the large number of arrests in the previous fortnight General Hodge explained them to the foreign press. The disclosure of the plot to "blow up" the Seoul radio station, he said, had led to the uncovering of a broader conspiracy "of a revolutionary nature." Only that day a police raid had unearthed a cache of weapons. (As far as I could learn, the only weapons found that day were dug up in the backyard of a house belonging to a member of the centrist Socialist Democratic Party. They were Japanese weapons, deteriorated to the point of uselessness, and had apparently been there a long time. According to the Socialist Democratic Party, they were discovered some time ago by a woman digging in the garden. A servant had told the police about them.)

The Communists, General Hodge declared, were instigating riots and interfering in the grain collections "to cause starvation and so create unrest." He expressed surprise that the Soviet Union should protest, since these activities "were directed from North Korea."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Grapes Without Wrath

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Westfield, New York, October 22

A LARGE sign at the entrance to this trim, attractive little town near the shores of Lake Erie tells the traveler he has arrived at the "Grape Juice Capital of the World." The boast is supported by the location here of three plants devoted to the manufacture of this beverage and the headquarters of the Welch Grape Juice Company, the pioneer in this field, which it still dominates. Moreover, Westfield is the geographical center of a grape-growing belt stretching from near Buffalo into eastern Ohio. A favorable combination of soil and climate has made the narrow coastal plain between Lake Erie and Chautauqua Hills one of the best and most extensive vineyard areas in the United States.

A few wine grapes are raised, but the district is, or was, a stronghold of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. When grapes became a leading crop here in the last half of the nineteenth century, its influence helped to persuade growers to concentrate on the Concord variety, from which the best unfermented juice is made. This attracted to Westfield in 1896 Dr. Thomas Bramwell Welch, a fanatical dry, who started his business with the object of providing a non-alcoholic substitute for communion wine.

Today Dr. Paul Welch, a member of the family, is chairman of the Welch Grape Juice Company, but a large majority of the shares were acquired a few years ago by J. M. Kaplan, a New York City business man. Under his guidance, and with new capital he has provided, the company's three plants in this area, as well as four others in Michigan, Arkansas, and Missouri, have been enlarged and modernized. Simultaneously, the management has contracted an alliance with a large local grape-growers' cooperative—an experiment which deserves attention as an attempt to place relations between farmers and food processors on a more stable and friendly basis.

More often than not those relations are strained by the inability of the two sides to see eye to eye on the question of fair prices. Most fruit and vegetable crops that are canned, bottled, or preserved are harvested in a short season and must be disposed of immediately if they are not to spoil. Farmers believe, sometimes with reason, that processors take advantage of this situation to secure undue profits by buying cheap and selling dear. Processors retort that theirs is a risky business: they must lay out cash for raw material at harvest time and recoup it gradually over the following twelve months. If they misjudge demand for the finished product, or if market conditions worsen during that period, they may be broken by inventory losses.

THE Welch plan, which was put into effect in the summer of 1945, seeks to reconcile these opposing points of view by spreading the risks and sharing the profits. The arrangement is as complicated as it is unique. Three master agreements have been signed by the Welch Company and the National Grape Cooperative Association, which now has nearly two thousand members in the Erie belt, mostly owners of small and medium-sized properties. In addition to grapes they cover tomatoes and other fruits grown by members.

The first agreement provides for the lease by the company to the association of its four plants in the area (one is used only as a warehouse and receiving center) for a period of twenty-one years; the second, for the employment of Welch's by the association to manage and operate these plants for the same period; the third, for the appointment of the company as sole distributor of the association's products. The association pays as rent a sum equal to 3 per cent of the net sales price of all products processed. It further agrees to produce fruits and vegetables in sufficient volume to enable the plants to operate as nearly as practicable at full capacity, to pay all taxes and similar charges, and to maintain the plants in good repair. The company, for its part, undertakes to advance such funds as the tenant needs to fulfil these conditions.

The management agreement gives the company full authority to operate the plants, to determine the kind and amount of production, and to decide what expenditures are necessary for maintenance. Finally, as sales agent, Welch's agrees to use its best efforts to create demand for the association's products, including use of the widely advertised Welch label to the fullest advantageous extent. In turn the association undertakes to produce only the kinds, qualities, and quantities of goods approved by the agent. From the proceeds received the agent is entitled to deduct all selling and other distribution costs, all excise taxes, a ratable share of overhead expenses, and a commission of 7 per cent of net sales (defined as aggregate invoice price with deductions only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for returns, damage allowances, and lawful discounts). As a safeguard against unduly inflated sales, the agent agrees that the total of deductible items is not to exceed 27 per cent of net sales.

To sum up: the association, in effect, pays 10 per cent of the proceeds ultimately derived from the grapes and other products of its members, who contract to sell their entire crop through the association, to secure the use of Welch's capital, management skill, and label. It receives, for distribution to its members, 90 per cent, less manufacturing and selling costs.

THE plan, it is claimed, offers substantial advantages to both parties. As the company advances only part of the cost of raw material, spreading the balance of payments over the year as the finished products are sold, it is able to finance a larger turnover without a proportionate increase in liquid capital. At the same time its risks are reduced because inventory can be valued on the basis of the first partial payment made to the growers. Finally it is assured of the tonnage needed to keep its plants operating efficiently. The growers, for their part, share the risks of market changes but in return get a certain market for all they produce, the benefit of the company's selling organization, and a share of the profits.

So far the arrangement seems to have worked out to the satisfaction of both sides. For their 1945 crop the growers received advances of $127 a ton and a final dividend of $13; for the 1946 one, $135 and $27.50. When they compare such returns with an average price of $40 paid in 1940, growers feel they are doing well. For the crop now being picked $75 a ton is being paid on delivery—a sum agreed on between the directors of the association and the Welch management. While this is less than in either of the two previous years—a reflection of uncertainty about market conditions in 1948—none of the growers I have talked to had any complaints to make. They seemed fairly confident that later payments would bring total returns to a much higher figure. Meanwhile the advance more than covers growing costs estimated to range between $35 and $60 a ton.

Of course, the recent happy experiences of the grape-growers cannot be ascribed wholly to cooperation à la Welch. This venture was launched at a moment when prices were generally rising and when the demand for semi-luxuries like grape juice was particularly good. Processors striving to keep up with this demand were competing for tonnage and providing for the growers the kind of sellers' market that is every farmer's dream. These conditions continue, but they are unlikely to last forever, and we have yet to see how this capitalist-cooperative alliance will hold together in a period of declining prices. However, when I put this point to Hall Clothier, president of the association, as he worked in his vineyard, he replied, "Then the cooperative will be more necessary and more valuable to us than it is now."

The growers' optimism seems to be based in part on the strong impression made upon them by Mr. Kaplan's personality. A man who combines boundless energy and great resourcefulness with a progressive business outlook, he believes that the effects of a possible general recession can be offset by broadening the market. His aim is to lower unit profits on a larger volume so that grape juice can be priced more competitively in relation to other fruit juices. The agreement with the growers designed to secure a greater and more dependable tonnage is one means to this end; another is reduction of processing costs by the use of more efficient labor-saving equipment. Thus in the past two years the company has installed in its various plants forty-four huge stainless-steel tanks to take the place of the thousands of five-gallon glass containers in which the juice used to be stored until it was bottled. These tanks save an enormous amount of handling and have many other advantages.

Such policies are beginning to show results for consumers as well as producers. At a time when prices generally are riding a non-stop elevator Welch's has announced a reduction in the prices of its grape juice and preserves. For instance, it is now listing a case of twelve quart bottles at $4.50, down 60 cents from 1946, and only 12½ per cent more than the price in 1940, when raw material, labor, and other costs were much lower. Here is a record which challenges a good many other processors of farm products.

THE National Grape Cooperative Association is the largest growers' organization in the Erie belt but not the only one or the oldest. There are, in fact, three completely independent producers' cooperatives operating their own plants. Some members of the National told me that they expected these groups would ultimately join them. However, when I talked to T. R. Skinner, manager of the Westfield Planters' Cooperative Fruit Products, he told me that although they had received a number of feelers in this direction, his members were not interested.

Mr. Skinner assured me that the Welch plan had not attracted away supporters of his cooperative or served to reduce its tonnage. In fact, he said, there is a waiting list of candidates for membership, for the 125 growers who own Planters are able to supply all the grapes the factory can handle. This cooperative last year paid out $150 a ton, which is rather less than National Grape's distribution. However, a surplus of $42 a ton was held back in a revolving fund to provide working capital. As the fund is replenished from the proceeds of future packs, all or part of this sum will be released and distributed to members. The balance sheet of Planters certainly shows solidity. Started in 1935 with a capital of $45,000, it now owns plant and equipment valued at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$277,983, after depreciation, and total assets exceeding $1,000,000.

Some at least of the independent cooperators in the belt are decidedly suspicious of the National Grape set-up. They regard it as a very fancy façade behind which Welch exercises the real power and carries on very much as before. The association, they point out, nominally hires the company to process and sell its products, but in fact its directors have no voice in deciding operating or selling policies. All the same, these critics concede, the plan may work out satisfactorily as long as the independent cooperatives can provide competition and a yardstick. But should the independents falter and agree to join the Welch family, the company would achieve something like a monopoly and the growers would be at its mercy.

This seems to me a reasonable position to take, even though I have been very well impressed by the good intentions and good faith of the present Welch executives. For twenty-one years is a long time, and continuity of management policies cannot be guaranteed. On the other hand, there is no evidence, at present, that the company needs or aims at a monopoly. Under the influence of good prices grape culture in the belt is recovering from the low it reached a few years ago. Old vineyards are being improved by increased use of fertilizer and more spraying; new vineyards are being planted. Thus it should be possible in any good crop year for both the Welch Company and its cooperative competitors to obtain the tonnage they need for efficient operation.

More threatened, perhaps, are the smaller private packers, but some of them at least seem to have seen a red light and are now introducing profit-sharing schemes of their own. Nor is the influence of the Welch plan likely to be confined to this district. Its principles are being applied by the company in its operations in other parts of the country, where its rivals may also be expected to sit up and take notice.

There is at least a chance, it seems to me, that the spread of this profit-sharing technique will help to bring stability to a notoriously unstable branch of industry. Growers and processors of innumerable foods have a community of interest which they have often forgotten in a search for the fleeting profits of scarcity. The first needs an assured market for his whole crop, the second a dependable supply so that he may secure the benefits of continuous capacity operation. A profit-sharing alliance is a good way to secure these objectives, provided both sides remember they have a silent but influential partner—the consumer.

Next week I. F. Stone will make a full report in The Nation *on the Un-American Committee's all-star fiasco in Washington.*

In the Wind

OPEN THE MAIL," said the Wind. "Okay," said the Candle. "This is from Chicago: 'Gentlemen: Both the Candle and the Wind should flutter at the knowledge that pages from *The Nation* bearing stories of starvation in Europe, race riots in the United States, trouble in the United Nations, and other minor diversions, have been selected as an appropriately sporty background for a couple of show-windows of ties in the Store for Men of Marshall Field and Company here. The sales talk that goes with the ties and *The Nation* reads, "Lines, lines, lines . . . crisp, clear-cut, and well-defined."' "

"THIS," SAID THE WIND, "is from Japan—from Hugh Deane. See page 469: 'The censors here have prohibited publication of the second half of Edgar Snow's "Battle for Asia," and the publishers have melted down the plates. The first half was published some time ago. "Red Star Over China" also cannot be published; it has been held up seven months. Such parts of Snow's books as have been published have been instant best-sellers.' "

"AND MELVILLE CANE, of New York, has sent us the following chef d'oeuvre," replied the Candle, extraneously:

> How much Hartley,
> How much Taft
> Figured in the final draft?
> Fifty-fifty? Mostly? Partly?
> Who worked smartly?
> Taft or Hartley?
> Who was helmsman of the craft?
> Who was fore and who was aft?

"BRAVO!" CRIED THE WIND. "Do you think that 'it may be necessary to listen to cries of fascism in order to get rid of the termite Communists who use racial equality . . . to destroy the foundations of the Republic'?"

"Not quite," answered the Candle. "Who does?"

"*Bank Trends,* a news-column release from Washington News Features, U. V. Wilcox, editor."

"Oh," said the Candle. "Well, I have heard of an easier way to avert 'communistic and socialistic trends.' Clive W. Haas of Big Timber, Montana, vice-president of the Rocky Mountain Telephone Association, says it can and must be done by expanding telephone facilities in rural areas."

"I'M SURE HE'S RIGHT," said the Wind. "Almost as right as Millard C. Faught of the Small Business Economic Foundation, who wants everybody to know that 'as things stand, we as a nation have the last free-enterprise team on the field. It's ninth inning, bases loaded, and two out. If we fan out now, the whole Free Enterprise League gets disbanded for good. What a time to hit one over the fence!' "

"HERE'S A FINAL NOTE of good cheer, and then let's get out of here," said the Wind. "Up in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Charles Stewart, chief steward of Lightship No. 5, was jailed for a day for 'wilful insubordination.' Steward Stewart attempted to force Captain Louis Duquet 'to accept ham and eggs for breakfast when the skipper ordered steak' "

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fight for "P. R."

BY GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

WHAT was slated to be an off-year election in New York City has turned out to be quite a lively surprise. With no officers to be voted for except a few judges, two district attorneys, and legislators to fill half a dozen local vacancies, more people have registered to vote than in the mayoralty election of 1945.

Explanations differ, but all are agreed that the most important issue is the abolition or retention of proportional representation, familiarly known as "P. R." This method has been used in the last five municipal elections for the selection of city councilmen. It is being attacked with hysterical vigor by the regular organizations of both major parties and as vehemently defended by an array of minor-party, civic, labor, and veteran groups ranging all the way from the Commerce and Industry Association to the Communist Party.

A similar battle is raging in Cincinnati, where the controlling but chastened Republican organization is trying to get rid of a strong good-government opposition in the city council by abolishing P. R. The little New York seashore suburb of Long Beach has a miniature version of New York's battle, with both major party organizations trying to repeal P. R. against a stout civic and labor defense; and Boulder, Colorado, which has used P. R. for thirty years, is voting on a repeal question for the third time. On the same day five Massachusetts cities—Worcester, Pittsfield, Fitchburg, Medford, and Revere—are voting on petition proposals for the adoption of P. R. along with the city-manager plan of government, and eight cities in other states are holding P. R. elections for members of their city councils.

A new struggle for political rights comparable to the woman-suffrage movement seems to be well under way. Proportional representation is already accepted in principle in many of the most civilized countries and has gone far enough here to be recognized as a major threat by old-style politicians throughout the nation.

The more usual methods of electing representatives in this country give all the representation in each district, or at large, to the most numerous organized group. When the strength of the largest party is spread evenly over the entire area, it may win all or nearly all the seats even under the district system, as when the Republicans completely monopolized the city council of Philadelphia for more than twenty years and when the Democrats elected sixty-four aldermen out of sixty-five in 1931 in New York City. If this situation becomes established, competition dwindles, the inner circle of the dominant group feels free to nominate docile henchmen, and popular elections are a mere form without substance.

Proportional representation attacks the evil at its roots. It accepts the principle stated by the eminent Swiss publicist Ernest Naville as long ago as 1865, that "in a democratic government the right of decision belongs to the majority, but the right of representation belongs to all." As its name implies, it gives representation to every substantial group of like-minded voters in approximate proportion to the group's voting strength.

The form of P. R. used in this country, Canada, Australia, and Ireland—where it has been used for national as well as local elections since 1920—is based on a preferential ballot which permits the voter to express his order of choice among the candidates, or as many of them as he wishes to mark. No primaries are needed; candidates are nominated by petition. Several members are elected together, either at large as in Cincinnati or in a large district as in the New York City boroughs.

A minority quota, either fixed as a definite number of votes (75,000 in New York) or calculated each time as a definite fraction of the total, is taken as the basis of election. Any group of voters large enough to poll this quota is sure of representation. A larger group may fill up more than one quota and elect proportionately more members, but each particular voter helps to elect only one—the first of his choices who turns out to have a chance of election with his help. The lowest candidates are dropped one by one, and as each one goes out, the ballots which have been counted for him are transferred to the credit of the next choice of the particular voter among the candidates still in the running.

Under this plan there is no longer a possibility of a political monopoly. The present New York City Council consists of twelve Democrats, five Republicans, two Liberals, two American Laborites, and two Communists. Even the Democrats and Republicans on the council are a free choice of the voters instead of hand-picked selections of district leaders. The council is a real deliberative body, very different from the rubber-stamp Tammany Board of Aldermen which preceded it, and it has dealt constructively with many vital local problems.

But the major party strategists are unhappy about P. R. because it has curtailed their powers. Though they have not been above making frequent deals with radicals for their own purposes in district elections, they are seizing on the presence of the two Communists in the council as the excuse for a hysterical appeal to throw out P. R. The ruse may or may not work. The choice is between a Tammany dictatorship and good, representative government.

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., is secretary of the New York Citizens' Union and associate secretary of the National Municipal League.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Del Vayo—Vambery of Hungary

THE corridors at Lake Success have been enlivened lately by the presence of a man whose conversations bring a note of high spirits and humor to those usually cheerless surroundings. Though he represents an unpopular cause, delegates who have known him for a long time have no fear of compromising their reputations by being seen in his company. His name is Rustem Vambery, and his immediate mission is to obtain Hungary's admission into the United Nations. I sometimes wonder whether his own government realizes how fortunate it is to have Professor Vambery as Minister to Washington and champion of its cause before the international organization.

The Hungarian envoy is too well versed in world affairs to underestimate the value of old-fashioned diplomacy, but he enjoys the liberty provided by the new diplomacy to speak his mind without restraint. He manages to be a forthright defender of his country's interests without giving up an ounce of independence or critical judgment. His statement to the press the day he presented his credentials to President Truman was perhaps the wittiest and most outspoken recently made by a foreign diplomat.

Vambery does not pretend that Hungary is a model of democracy; he considers it nonsense to talk about "public opinion" after twenty-five years of Admiral Horthy. On the other hand, he believes it is unjust to ignore the achievements of the new Hungarian regime, which in two years has eliminated much of the chaos left by occupation and war.

In December of 1944 a coalition government was set up in Hungary in which Communists predominated. The following November, elections were held in which the generally conservative Smallholders' Party won a smashing victory. Naturally, the results met with the approval of the men who were then laying the groundwork for a Western bloc, and the election was hailed in Washington and London as a model of democratic franchise. However, when the elections held in August of this year produced different results, the United States and Britain denounced them as an outrage to democratic opinion. Actually, neither election was an example of democratic purity. They were simply the kind of elections one must expect in countries where the free play of parties does not exist and never has existed.

When politicians and columnists and radio commentators speak of Eastern Europe, they forget the factor which in the past has been common to most of these countries: the unbridgeable gap between a mass of impoverished, hunger-ridden peasants and an almost medieval privileged class of landed proprietors. Between these two strata an industrial proletariat, the most advanced and revolutionary element, slowly emerged, and, after the liberation, formed the core around which coalition or national-front governments were built. Inevitably, this core was largely Communist, and the governments became minority regimes which for a long time to come will bear little resemblance to Western parliamentary systems.

Foreign reporters forget something else. In the years between the two world wars several attempts were made to plant democratic methods in Eastern Europe, and except in Czechoslovakia they failed miserably. They brought no real improvement in the situation of the masses, nor did they even limit the privileges of a feudal aristocracy that was able to manipulate the new constitutional machinery for its own benefit and continue to rule by caprice.

Progress toward normality and a more democratic atmosphere in all these countries is also impeded by the worsening of relations between the West and the East and the endless talk of war. In the Balkans, as in Germany, reactionaries speculate on the imminence of war and in the measure that they see war draw nearer become bolder in their intrigues. This in turn leads the left minorities in power to be more intolerant and less discriminating in their repression. Another factor working in the same direction is the agitation carried on from abroad against the new regimes. No fewer than fourteen former Hungarian envoys are now in foreign countries working actively against the Budapest government. Several of them, together with fellow-reactionaries from neighboring states, have foregathered in the hospitable atmosphere of Washington.

With six opposition parties represented in the Hungarian parliament, it is difficult to substantiate the charge of a "one-party dictatorship." True, Hungary has a political police. But what is the FBI, pray tell? Its methods are still restrained, by Eastern European standards, but the widening purge in Washington gives a hint of what can be expected if political tension increases.

What is clear, as Ambassador Vambery has emphasized, is that the internal situation in Hungary constitutes no valid basis for refusing it admission to the United Nations. To oppose Hungary's membership on the ground that changes brought about in the last government crisis were not "in accordance with the principles of international law" is completely absurd. Constitutional law might be a criterion, but certainly not international law, which touches in no fashion whatsoever the internal structure of national governments. In any case I am tempted to ask the delegations which opposed Hungary's admission but accepted Yemen, when the last elections took place in the Imam's absolute monarchy.

Even more hypocritical is the argument that if Hungary and certain other countries of Eastern Europe are accepted into the United Nations, admission cannot be refused to Franco. I am sick of this leveling zeal. Not so long ago in Washington, at an off-the-record talk on Spain before an audience composed largely of government employees, I was asked: "Can the speaker establish a difference between the Tito regime and the Franco regime?" "At least one," I answered. "Tito came to power by fighting the Nazis; Franco through the help of the Nazis." If anyone in the U. N. is so firmly convinced that Hungary and Franco Spain are on a par, let him have the honesty, at least, to get up on his feet and dispute with Argentina's Dr. Arce the honor of pleading the fascist dictator's cause

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Jameses

THE JAMES FAMILY: A GROUP BIOGRAPHY. By F. O. Matthiessen. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.75.

"THE JAMES FAMILY" is the climax of the many recent works on the subject, superseding, I should say, all but R. B. Perry's infinitely rich "The Thought and Character of William James." It is a marvel of comprehensiveness, a wonderfully full record of a family that peculiarly deserved just such a memorial. The Jameses were not only very conscious but very communicative. They exercised both faculties in a vast correspondence, for they were great travelers. Fortunate as well as talented, they were in a position to know almost all the important figures of their time. But they were never simply reporters: the observation of people and places and the appraisal of books and plays and paintings were always for them a form of confession, a means of identifying themselves in the complex international scene that had replaced the small, sufficient American scene of their childhood. An anxious sense of self, a fateful sense of nationality pursued them almost constantly, charging with a high value whatever they wrote.

"The James Family" is intended as a voluminous document on the minds, and to a lesser extent the lives, of this vivid circle. Mr. Matthiessen includes letters and fragments of autobiography as well as examples of the more formal writings. These materials he arranges in such a way as to show the Jameses in all the variety of what they most prized: their *relations*—relations to each other, to friends, to famous men, to the United States and Europe, to philosophy, art, politics. And he has interspersed his excerpts with lengthy passages of editorial comment. He has done his job so thoroughly that anyone who, like the present reviewer, has a special interest in the Jameses will read the book in a constant state of pleasurable recognition. One expected such famous items as the elder James's narrative of his conversion to Swedenborg, his brilliant letter to Emerson about the Boston Saturday Club, the letters illustrating the endless family debate over the question of Europe versus America, Henry's account of the curious injury to his back, the children's letters to and about their "sacred old Father" at the time of his death—surely the high point, these latter, of American epistolary writing. But alongside these familiar things one is always encountering items which one had long cherished as personal discoveries.

I will give a single example. Mr. Matthiessen devotes several pages to the varied family response to Turgenev, whose work they began to read some years before Henry James became personally acquainted with him in Paris. William leads off by declaring to Henry in a letter of 1869 that although Turgenev is "solid" and possesses "style," "his mind is morbid"—presumably the Russian is too melancholy for William, who reads novels and will continue to read them largely for inspiration. Shortly thereafter young Henry James publishes in the *North American Review* a much more subtle statement of a similarly divided view of Turgenev. But in 1874 the elder James addresses to Turgenev a letter of homage which is so attractive a document of the man and the period that I am delighted to find it included in Mr. Matthiessen's book. "You sink your shaft sheer through the world of outward circumstance, and of social convention, and show us ourselves in the fixed grasp of fate, so to speak, or struggling vainly to break the bonds of temperament. Superficial critics revolt at this tragic spectacle, and pronounce you cynical. They mistake the profound spirituality of your method." In short, as Mr. Matthiessen points out, the elder James was quite equal to a pessimism from which William and Henry shrank. His theological system, crazy and atavistic though it was, lifted him above mere gentility, delivered him from the inveterate high-mindedness not only of his age but of his two brilliant sons, even though it may have worked to keep him from anything like their great accomplishments.

But Mr. Matthiessen is extremely impartial toward all members of the family. He fully appreciates the elder James without falling into the absurd ancestor worship which has led certain recent critics to discover the father image everywhere in the work of the sons. Even more important, he is not victimized by his own theme, the family pattern. That pattern, he makes clear, involved as much diversity as uniformity. In one very vital matter, however, I think that Mr. Matthiessen has been over cautious: he avoids any psychological approach to the family. And this is a little peculiar, for the Jameses themselves, as distinguished from, say, the public-minded Adamses, were specialists

---

IN THE CAMP THERE WAS ONE ALIVE

Flakes pour to the black dead
  At Lasen, by the wire.
The child, in his charred cave,
  Watches the shaking fire

Struggle to him in torment
  Till, stumbling, the shades sink back
Into his helplessness; his shaking
  Limbs shrink to nothing, crack

Under the beams that pin him.
  He hears, beneath the hiss
Of snow, a step on snow, the vague
  Murmur of many voices.

They have come; and he calls to them
  In gladness—It is the dead.
They speak softly, he understands
  Nothing, and inches his head

Back over to them; but he sees
  Nothing, he hears nothing. He moans
In his last loneliness—and the voices
  Ring in his ears, the stones

Are flung from the hammering feet
  Of the dead who cry
The child's name over and over.
  He laughs out in joy

And wrenches with all his strength
  Against the timbers, cries:
"I'm coming." The voices are fainter,
  The footsteps die as he dies.

RANDALL JARRELL

LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in intimate experience. They had a heritage of psychic crisis as the house of Atreus had a heritage of bloodshed, and they were intensely aware of it. To the implications of so much emotional distress Mr. Matthiessen is very cool. And as a further small instance of his indifference to the inner relations of the family, he fails to include the statement by the youngest son, Robertson, to the effect that as a child he had felt himself a "foundling" in that ostensibly most devoted of family groups; instead Mr. Matthiessen merely pronounces the unfortunate Robertson a case of self-pity. No doubt he was, but in any integral view of the James family Robertson's fate is immensely symptomatic: his extreme sense of estrangement was a measure of what William and Henry had likewise to confront and overcome. In some of the richest pages of "A Small Boy and Others" Henry James confessed to having felt, if not a foundling, at least a very anxious little outsider in the family circle; and the tragedy of exclusion was to figure deeply in his novels. Of all this Mr. Matthiessen makes strangely little in his otherwise admirable volume.

F. W. DUPEE

The Machinery of Society

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR. A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization. By Herbert A. Simon. The Macmillan Company. $4.

BOTH the exasperated veteran of bureaucracy and the confused and irritated novice should find solace in this calm and relentless dissection of the operating machinery of society, whether public, local and national, or private, both commercial and voluntary. Professor Simon does not lay down the law. He merely shows what to expect at the present stage of social evolution when citizens have to contend with bureaucracy or are drawn into bureaucracy on an increasing scale. He does not write for everybody. His ambitious attempt to discuss the sociology and the practical science of administration is tailored to the reading habits of the academic man who needs a framework for research and teaching. But that is no reason why the book should not become a best-seller in this age of widespread college education. The inclusion of material from military administration should add to its appeal for our veterans. They probably still need some help in digesting past experience while orienting their academic learning to the practical necessities of a managerial society.

The new generations should welcome the book for two additional reasons, neither of them explicit in it. Professor Simon shows the elements of administration common to business, government, and volunteer organization. He fits in the profit motive. He considers the possible difference in administrative problems and techniques between totalitarian and democratic communities, alleging insufficient knowledge in the first and suggesting adjustments in administrative organization in the second. In the process he demonstrates, however, that much would be gained if, in public affairs, contending parties had the knowledge and the will to distinguish administrative implications of the agenda. In this perspective the book reads like a running commentary on United Nations discussions at Lake Success during the summer and fall of this year. But Professor Simon has clearly not intended to make such possible generalizations more than incidental to his book. If the reader wants to refer back to the book for its value in the broader perspective, he will have to add considerably to the index under the headings of democracy, totalitarianism, private enterprise (profit, commercial, non-profit, reform, and religious organizations), socialization, technology, and even public relations, all topics dealt with in the text. Suitably enlarged in this manner, the index will show the reader that Professor Simon has a perspective on society that points beyond an ideological structure old enough by now to be interred in the history books.

The second reason why this book is valuable to new generations—and to everybody needing encouragement about public affairs—lies in the evidence it provides of a community of people in our midst who are attacking the operating problems of our society in a systematic manner without emotional, ideological, or historical bias. Undoubtedly a pioneering work in the range and logic of its presentation, Professor Simon's book acknowledges a broad debt to public servants, academic teachers, and business men, who are shown in the notes to be helping in the development of a science of administration. Living philosophers are not excluded. Again, however, the index fails the reader. Perhaps it is debatable whether the index should reinforce Professor Simon's acknowledgment of a debt to the *Public Administration Review* and other periodicals that have recently begun to function as writing laboratories in the field. But John Dewey, who is mentioned many times in the text, is missing in the index, while Freud, who is mentioned only once, is there.

BJARNE BRAATOY

Out of the Resistance

A FINE OF 200 FRANCS. By Elsa Triolet. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.75.

HERE are three long short stories ("short novels," the American publishers call them) whose characters move against the backdrop of the German occupation and the Resistance. The first story, "The Lovers of Avignon," follows a detective-story technique, and there is an element of surprise for the reader when he discovers that Juliette, the beautiful stenographer, who up to a certain point in the story has ambulated mysteriously and incomprehensibly through the French countryside, is gathering data for the Resistance. ("I've always been fond of Juliette Noël," Elsa Triolet tells us in one of her charming asides to the reader; "I find her extremely charming and attractive.") And small wonder that Juliette should be in love with one of the leaders of the *maquis:* "Riding breeches, boots, a blouse without braid, unbuttoned. . . . A large body, whose movements were so abrupt one would expect him to overturn things. But he wasn't like that at all. He had the grace of a horse who takes an obstacle cleanly. The head of an archangel, somber, fallen, with burning, prominent eyes beneath bold eyebrows. . . . The tropical heat in the room seemed to emanate from him." But why go on? Here are Charles Boyer and Ingrid Bergman turned to flesh and blood before our very eyes.

The second story, "Private Life

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or Alexis Slavsky," in spite of interminable descriptions of Lyon, its houses, furniture, and inhabitants—which are easily skipped—is by far the best in the book; but the effort to connect and interweave the life of the heroine in "Notebooks Buried Under a Peach Tree" with that of the characters of the previous story seems a little forced. She is at any rate a fascinating creature, whom music—as her "Notebooks" tell—"always stirred more deeply than liquor or men" and who "sometimes dressed like an elegant woman, sometimes like a choir boy, with extravagant make-up." She is caught and executed by the Gestapo, having joined the Resistance, that everybody's Purgatory where sins are burned to dross. Lady Brett was never like this, and the Notebooks are dug up from beneath the peach tree by Jean, the One-Man-She-Ever-Really-Loved.

The translator is faithful to the French original and certainly knows French well. He remains shyly anonymous, so only two slight mistakes prove that he hasn't been in France during the past few years: *le car* is not a train but a motor bus which runs between provincial towns; *ne pas desserrer les dents* means to shut up, not to utter a word, and not "Henriette clenched her teeth."

Unfortunately, American readers will judge contemporary French writing by this collection of Elsa Triolet's stories; she has written much better ones. The fact that this volume won the Goncourt prize explains the choice of the publishers.

RENE BLANC-ROOS

Numbers, Space and Time

ONE TWO THREE . . . INFINITY. By George Gamov. The Viking Press. $4.75.

PROFESSOR GAMOV, a well-known theoretical physicist, here entertains the lay reader with illuminating discussions relating to numbers, the square root of minus one, space and time, atom smashing, genes, entropy, and almost anything else that comes into his fertile mind. Most of it is entertaining; much of it is understandable; some of it is too deep for the type of reader to whom the author wishes to appeal.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Racial Mores in Brazil

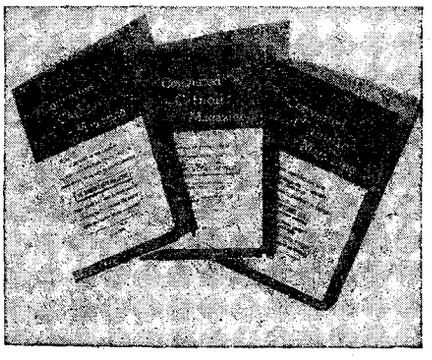
THE BRAZILIANS. By Hernane Tavares de Sá. The John Day Company. $3.

SENHOR TAVERES DE SA offers a warm and convincing image of his country, and the abundant detail he sets down concerning custom and convention adds up to something more than a brilliant travelogue. Having read it, one feels that one has learned how Brazilians make their private and public decisions.

Perhaps the most fascinating section of the book is the one which deals with the color problem. In the main the author follows Gilberto Freire's analysis. What Freire in his recent book did not make clear, however, is that the encouragement of miscegenation has been the conscious policy of Brazilian governments. The Brazilian color problem, it is said, is really one of class. A woman who marries a Negro or an Indian does not sacrifice her "white supremacy," for there is little racialism among the broad masses. But she does accept a

The Catholic Church--Its Nature and Purpose

Factually and Objectively Discussed ✝ *Without Offense to Catholic People*



You Should Know—

?

HOW THE CATHOLIC CHURCH EXISTS IN A DEMOCRACY

WHAT OF STATE AID TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

MUST WE CHOOSE BETWEEN ROME AND RUSSIA

CAN PROTESTANTISM SURVIVE THE POPE'S BID FOR WORLD CONTROL

For First-hand Information on These and Other Questions of Vital Importance to Every American

Read THE CONVERTED CATHOLIC MAGAZINE

Edited by former Roman Catholic Priests

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE $1.00 A YEAR (10 issues) — Canada and Foreign $1.25

Order from **CHRIST'S MISSION, 228 West 48th Street, New York 19, N. Y., Dept. No. N**

Name..... Address.....

City (Zone)..... and State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lower standard of living and therefore often shrinks from a mixed marriage. In a land with a colonial history where office and good employment have hitherto been reserved for whites and where illiteracy is common, colored labor is ill rewarded. The sexual motives which rule in the United States actually work in reverse, according to the author. The census discloses that many women declare themselves to be colored when they are not, apparently because of the tradition that Negroes are more gratifying sexual partners than white women. So runs the argument. It is not entirely convincing when set out with the brevity imposed upon the author. For example, one notes that Senhor Tavares de Sá admits that the mixing of strains has been largely due to extramarital intercourse. That the government's policy is called "whitening" suggests that the idea of white superiority does exist. Nevertheless, the author's statement of visible fact, that racialism produces no such embittered tension, must be unreservedly accepted.

There is no extensive survey of politics in "The Brazilians," but the author's account of recent events brings into focus all that he writes concerning economic and cultural potentials. Following an extremely sympathetic portrait of the Communist leader Prestes and an admission that the party is a very powerful force, Tavares de Sá says that the army's revolt against Vargas was not due to the fact that he had permitted elections but to his deal with Prestes. Vargas and his machine meant to utilize Prestes and his great popular following. The generals feared that Prestes would outwit the dictator and so prepared their coup, whereupon the Communist leader withdrew his support. Dutra, the victorious candidate, was the representative of the old machine and the generals. The present regime, which naturally rests upon the army, is now suppressing the Communist Party, and the liberals are still without cohesion and without a solid program.

If this is so, what is the future of Brazilian democracy to be? There is a good survey of problems which that democracy must face in this very readable and useful book, but there is no confident answer to the larger problem.

RALPH BATES

Do you enjoy a good book?

You can read the latest best sellers without having to buy any. All the books you want, fiction or non-fiction, mailed to your home, anywhere in the U. S., postage paid, for only $7.00 a year! No waiting list, no time limit, no fines. Tear this out now and send for full information and free trial offer.

BEST-SELLERS CLUB

Dept. 17, 396 Broadway, New York 13, N. Y.

"THE REAL RUSSIAN CHALLENGE"

by one of America's foremost Russian authorities offers "...deep insights into the working of the Soviet machine... pay heed to this small package full of great truths."

MUST reading for every American

Send 25¢, coin or stamps

INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN TRADE

205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"COMMAND DECISION" (Fulton Theater) is, I think, quite the best play so far to come out of World War II. Inevitably, therefore, it has been compared with "What Price Glory?" but the two are as different as plays dealing with war in the field could very well be. "What Price Glory?" was a brilliant cartoon intended to shock and getting its effects by bold strokes and crude colors. Its cynicism and its sentimentality were both of the most abandoned sort, and it quite frankly sacrificed everything to theatrical effect. "Command Decision" also has, to be sure, plenty of drama as well as a certain amount of mere theatricality, but essentially it is sober—as much more sober than the Anderson-Stallings melodrama as the prevailing reaction to the war just past is more sober than that of the twenties to World War I. Indeed, if a future historian ever compares the two plays he will probably be able to sense from them alone the real difference between the two post-war epochs. To the authors of "What Price Glory?" the conflict had been a gaudy binge upon which they looked back in the true spirit of a morning after. That, they were saying, was my last and biggest wild oat. It was fun in a way, but we'll never go there any more. "Command Decision," on the other hand, is a picture of a preposterous yet imperative enterprise almost unrelievedly grueling and tragic at the same time that it was inescapable. What is the use, it seems to ask, of saying that it must not happen again? We could not prevent it this time, and, God help us, we should quite possibly be unable to prevent its happening again.

The three acts take place in the office of a general in command of an air squadron which operates against Germany. The general is convinced that precision bombing, at the moment on trial, is our only hope. He knows that the tremendous losses he is taking when he sends his bombers out beyond the range of fighter protection are, by the cold calculus of military logic, entirely justifiable. But newspapers and Congressmen count only the cost and prefer relatively safe little sorties which sacrifice little and accomplish nothing. Even the military higher-ups, sensitive to public opinion, will not share his responsibility. He is on his own, and so he must himself make the decision, which is not only to send brave men to their death but also to face the probability that he will be relieved of his command and sacrificed to public opinion in the guise of a butcher.

To its central theme the play keeps, for the most part, with grim insistence. A correspondent wanders in and out; there is an official visit from Congressmen and high brass; there are also a few references to the pleasures of the soldier off duty which played so large a part in "What Price Glory?" But in the main the tone is sober, and few concessions are made to the supposed need for color and comic relief. The author, William Wister Haines, seems to know how a command post actually operated, and he is determined to reveal its workings. Indeed, there are moments when the play almost suggests one of those film "documentaries," like "Target for Tonight," which were quite as much informative as they were dramatic. Hence, though drama is by no means lacking, one gets continuously the feeling that truth to fact is as important to the author as theatrical effect. Somewhat similarly, the play also tends to stick pretty close to its specific problem. It does hardly more than suggest that this specific problem is a typical one, and that to answer it is to answer the general problem raised when we must fight a war in the interests of those values which war in itself completely negates.

Nevertheless, there is, I think, no doubt that the author does unobtrusively

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suggest just that and no doubt what his attitude is. If the general was right—and the author obviously thinks he was—when he sacrificed his men to an enterprise which, in the long run, would save lives, his decision answers also the larger question. Once war has been accepted, then, for the time being, only the logic of war is valid. We may be fighting it in the interests of antithetical institutions. We may have embarked upon the most inhuman of enterprises because we hope some day to reestablish the security of humanity. But we cannot, even so, make war humane, and we would simply be condemning ourselves to defeat if we tried even to temper it with humanity. In war no considerations are legitimate except those which ask to what extent a sacrifice contributes to victory. The enemy of ruthlessness must himself be ruthless. A monstrous paradox? Of course it is. A dangerous gamble against the chance that the temporary may become the permanent and that the time when we can return to another way of life will never seem to have come? Obviously it is also that. But is there any alternative? The author, so it seems to me, is saying that there is not.

Paul Kelly contributes a grim, restrained, and effective performance in the role of the general, and there is also a very good portrait in a different key created by James Whitmore as the general's sergeant. "Command Decision" probably will and certainly deserves to be a hit, but since the comparison has already been made, candor compels me to admit that it is, nevertheless, unlikely to be remembered as long as "What Price Glory?" That is partly for the simple reason that so vigorous a cartoon figure as Captain Flagg is, however regrettably, more memorable than so sober a portrait as that of the General Dennis in the new play. It is also, perhaps, because we need to be pretty close to the time when World War II was still news in the making to be as interested as "Command Decision" expects us to be in what I have already called a kind of documentary film.

"Under the Counter" (Shubert Theater) is an amiable if not very robust farce with music imported from England. Its chief asset is the low comedienne Cicely Courtneidge, who has a way with her.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

BEN SHAHN'S gift, though indisputable, is rarely effective beyond a surface felicity. What his retrospective show at the Museum of Modern Art (through January 4) makes all too clear is how lacking his art is in density and resonance. These pictures are mere stitchings on the border of the cloth of painting, little flashes of talent that have to be shaded from the glare of high tradition lest they disappear from sight.

Shahn first came to notice as a "socially conscious" painter, working in that routine quasi-expressionist, half-impressionist illustrative manner derived from Cézanne, Vlaminck, and other precubist French artists, examples of which year in and year out fill the halls of the Whitney, Carnegie, and Pepsi-Cola annuals and the showrooms of Associated American Artists (Bohrod, Brook, Blanch, Bouché, Dodd, Pène du Bois, Sterne, etc., etc.). Shahn appears to have been momentarily successful within the very narrow limits of this style: thus in the gouache "Walker Greets the Mother of Mooney," a real instinct for pictorial unity imposes itself on tawdry color and banal drawing. But his real originality, such as it is, emerges only with the entrance of the influence of photography, a medium he has practiced in addition to painting. It was the monocular photograph, with its sudden telescoping of planes, its abrupt leaps from solid foreground to flat distance, that in the early 1930's gave him the formula which remains responsible for most of the successful pictures he has painted since then: the flat, dark, exact silhouette placed upstage against a receding empty, flat plane that is uptilted sharply to close the back of the picture and contradict the indication of deep space. Chirico is felt here.

Some striking pictures issue from this formula. They are all in tempera, which lends itself best to Shahn's precise contours and extremely simple color sense; among them are the "Handball" of 1939, the "East 12th Street" of 1947, the "Ohio Magic" of 1945. The influence of the photograph, with its startlingly irrational unselectivity of detail, is also applied to advantage in the "Self-Portrait Among Churchgoers" of 1939.

On the whole Shahn's art seems to have improved with time. The later pictures become more sensitive and more painterly. That his "social consciousness" has at the same time become less prominent does not, in my opinion, play much of a role here; it is simply that Shahn gains better control of his medium as he goes along. Yet there has been a certain loss of vigor. Nothing improves upon or repeats the shock of "Handball." There is an attempt to strengthen and vary color, but to little avail. Shahn, more naturally a photographer than painter, feels only black and white, and is surest of himself when he orients his picture in terms of dark and light. All other chromatic effects tend to become artificial under his brush.

This art is not important, is essentially beside the point as far as ambitious present-day painting is concerned, and is much more derivative than it seems at first glance. There is a poverty of culture and resources, a pinchedness, a resigna-

HOW TO SOLVE "Yes-and-No" PROBLEMS

Mits,
(MAN IN THE STREET)
Wits
(WOMAN IN THE STREET)
AND Logic

By LILLIAN R. LIEBER
Drawings by HUGH GRAY LIEBER
Authors of
THE EDUCATION OF T. C. MITS

This amazing, engaging, enlightening and thoroughly gay little book gives you the rudiments of *modern* logic and shows you what it means to you. You will have fun reading it, and find it a tool for seeing through the confused and confusing thinking that comes at you every day in newspapers, on the radio, and wherever the world's problems are talked about.

At all bookstores. $3.00

"Books That Live"
W. W. NORTON & CO., 101 5th Ave., N. Y. 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to the minor, a certain desire for quick acceptance—all of which the scale and cumulative evidence of the present show make more obvious. Yet Shahn has a genuine gift, and that he has not done more with it is perhaps the fault of the milieu in which he has worked, even more than his own.

Although Pepsi-Cola's "Paintings of the Year" annuals have improved, at least by omission, under Roland McKinney's direction in the last two years, they continue to pay diminishing returns as an effort to promote American art. It is good to see new talent outside New York being encouraged, but when this talent is as mediocre and as timid as the Pepsi-Cola shows reveal it to be, what's the use? Does it matter that twenty or thirty more young painters west of the Hudson and north of the Sound have adopted the manner of Alexander Brook and become eligible for commissions to illustrate Lucky Strike advertisements?

This year's exhibition at the National Academy of Design (through October 31) makes a decided retreat in so far as it confines the quota of abstract paintings to two or three—and very bad ones at that. The tendency seems to run even more strongly than before to a populist modern art that, without going back all the way to conventional academicism, will not make things too difficult for the lay observer. The fact that the most ambitious and original American painting of the moment lies almost entirely in the direction of the abstract is disregarded. The reason for this becomes apparent, however, when we look at the list of jurors. Most of them are painters themselves and members of an academy with a vested interest to protect. None of them have gone farther than Vlaminck and Hartley, and it is only to be expected that they should discourage their juniors from attempting to do so. It is too bad that the Pepsi-Cola Company, whose intentions seem sincere, has let itself become their instrument. Doesn't it want its shows to be representative?

This year the first prize of $2,500 was awarded to Henry Kallem of New York for his Klee-ish "Country Tenement," which seems a good and almost a fresh picture when seen in color reproduction in the catalogue. It turns out, however, that this reproduction has by its very unfaithfulness—which steps the colors up at least three tones in key, converting the grays into whites, the violets into lavenders, and the reds into vermilions—greatly improved a painting whose original is rather muddy and timid, even if well drawn. Perhaps Mr. Kallem will be instructed by this enlightening accident and take more chances—in which case he would have to forgo Pepsi-Cola prizes for a while.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA VICTOR has issued another group of records of performances by famous singers of the past. One (15-1010; $2.50) offers the baritone Battistini in his 1907 performance of arias from "La Favorita" and "Martha" and enables one to understand the superlatives used in describing the quality of his voice, the ease of its production, and the style of its use. Another (15-1014) similarly documents the descriptions of the power and beauty of the soprano Emmy Destinn's voice when she first came to the Metropolitan, with a 1908 performance of *Un bel di* from "Madama Butterfly." On the reverse side is a 1914 performance of *Suicidio* from

MOTION PICTURES

MANHATTAN: ALHAMBRA, COLISEUM, 81st ST., 86th ST., 68th ST. Bet. Lex. & 3rd, HAMILTON, 125th ST., REGENT, 23rd ST.

RKO NOW

"Pleasantly amusing charade."—N. Y. Times

DEANNA DURBIN
DONALD O'CONNOR JOHN DALL
'Something in the Wind'
—and—
'SLAVE GIRL' Yvonne DeCARLO George BRENT
In TECHNICOLOR

BRONX: CASTLE HILL, CHESTER, FORDHAM, FRANKLIN, MARBLE HILL, PELHAM, ROYAL

WESTCHESTER: MT. VERNON, NEW ROCH., WH. PLAINS, YONKERS

BROOKLYN: BUSHWICK, BYKER, GREENPOINT, KENMORE, MADISON, ORPHEUM, PROSPECT, REPUBLIC, TILYOU, Coney Island

"A THRILLING MOVIE... GO SEE IT."—PM

ROBERT YOUNG ROBERT MITCHUM ROBERT RYAN
'CROSSFIRE'
—and—
'BANJO' SHARYN MOFFETT

QUEENS: MIDWAY Forest Hills Keith's, FLUSHING Keith's, RICH. HILL, STRAND Far Rockaway

MANHATTAN: COLONIAL B'way & 62 St.

PARAMOUNT Presents
GARY COOPER • PAULETTE GODDARD
in CECIL B. DeMILLE'S
'Unconquered'
Color by TECHNICOLOR
with HOWARD DA SILVA • BORIS KARLOFF • CECIL KELLAWAY • WARD BOND
Produced and Directed by CECIL B. DeMILLE
POPULAR PRICES RIVOLI Broadway at 49th STREET

STAGE PLAYS

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted and staged." *Garland, Journal-Amer.*

MAX GORDON *presents*
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street, East of B'way. CH 4-4256
Evenings 8:40 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

MAURICE EVANS
in GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY
"MAN AND SUPERMAN"
ALVIN THEATRE 52nd STREET, W. OF B'WAY. Circle 5-5226
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. and Sat., 2:30

RECITAL

CARNEGIE HALL • TUES., NOV. 11, at 8:30
Returning from triumphant Australian tour
SIMON BARERE
"... giant at the keyboard ..." —*Melbourne Herald*

INSTRUCTORS! TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NATION'S SPECIAL CLASS ROOM RATE—
30¢ Monthly per Student
for orders of ten or more copies to be sent to one address—
Desk copy is supplied free. Address your order to:
The NATION • 20 Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"La Gioconda," in which the voice has lost some of its beauty but the singing has acquired magnificent authority in style. I had to reduce the speed of the motor below 78 to bring *Un bel dì* down to its correct key; and I notice that in the H. M. V. catalogue the two Battistini recordings are also marked "below 78." The surfaces of the Destinn record are quiet; those of the Battistini a little less so.

The record (15-1011) with the contralto Louise Homer's 1909 performance of Schubert's "Die Allmacht" reproduces the grand style of her singing and the richness of her lower tones, but not the beauty I recall of her high ones. And my copy distorts her loud tones in the fine 1905 performance of an aria from "Les Huguenots" on the reverse side. Also, surfaces are bad.

The one (15-1012) with the contralto Ernestine Schumann-Heink's 1906 performance of an aria from "Lucrezia Borgia" and her 1907 performance of Arditi's "Leggiero Invisibile" reveals a voice remarkable not for sensuous beauty but for the power and flexibility that lend themselves to extraordinary bravura in vocal and musical style. Surfaces are poor.

And finally the one (15-1013) of the tenor Charles Dalmorès's 1912 performances of arias from "Carmen" and Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet" reveals a powerful voice which is used with a lot of exaggerated nuances of tone and changes of pace in the first piece, but with simpler phrasing in the second. Surfaces are quiet.

Still having to postpone detailed comment on Blitzstein's "The Airborne" until I have the necessary space, I now merely report my lack of respect for it (which leads me to regret that at a time when RCA Victor hasn't the plant, materials, and labor to record or issue all the great art it should, or even to keep already existing recordings of great art available, it wastes what is involved in the production of a seven-record set on this piece of musical journalism), and the fact that the performance by the New York City Symphony and Robert Shaw's chorus, with Charles Holland, tenor, Walter Scheff, baritone, and Mr. Shaw as narrator, all under the direction of Leonard Bernstein, seems good and is excellently reproduced (Set 1117; $8.25).

RCA Victor offers better value in the set (1141; $4) containing the Royal Hunt and Storm and the March from Berlioz's "The Trojans" and the Overture to Borodin's "Prince Igor," performed by Beecham with the London Philharmonic. The quiet opening and closing sections of the Royal Hunt and Storm have some of the details in Berlioz's music that bring tears to one's eyes with the intensity of their exquisitely wrought loveliness; the Borodin piece is very fine; the performances are excellent; and they are reproduced with spaciousness and richness, though with some overweight of bass and underweight of treble. In my copy there are occasional wavering pitch and occasional noisy surfaces.

Another Victor set (1135; $5) offers Wagner's early and interesting "Faust Overture," his lovely "Siegfried-Idyll," and his dreadful Ride of the Valkyries, performed by Toscanini with the N. B. C. Symphony. The performance of the "Idyll" is relaxed, tender, and characteristic in its plastic modeling, which in the overture produces powerful organic coherence and a hair-raising climax. The recorded sound is magnificently spacious and rich, and a trifle brash; one side in my copy wavers in pitch; and the surfaces are not bad with the Brush pickup, but are extremely noisy with the new Astatic QT.

On a Victor single disc (11-9653; $1) is Stokowski's latest orchestral performance of Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D minor, full of the manipulations of sonority and pace that make hash of this great work, and excellently recorded. And on another (11-9654; $1) is Morton Gould's "Minstrel Show," which I don't find enjoyable, and which is excellently performed by Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony and well recorded.

As for the set (1128; $5.25) of "Henry V," it offers some fine passages from the play, beautifully spoken—but as prose rather than as poetry, with lines and parts of lines sliced out—by Laurence Olivier, and extensive passages of Walton's music for the film, which I don't consider worthy of the space that could have been used for fine passages in the play that are omitted.

The Classical Record Service

We have or we'll find
those rare recordings you want!
Send us your lists.

THE CLASSICAL RECORD SERVICE
545 Fifth Avenue New York 17, N. Y.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $8.50 You Save $2.50
☐ *with* Consumers Union . . . $9.75 You Save $1.25
☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union . $12.25 You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $6 ☐ 2 Years $10 ☐ 3 Years $14

☐ SERVICEMEN'S RATE $4 A YEAR
Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

11-1-47

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

An Arab Reaction to the Palestine Supplement

Dear Sirs: Your special supplement on Palestine and the Middle East was an education in itself, especially for Arab readers. Thus Egyptians, whose country is still occupied by foreign troops, will be very flattered to learn that they dream of founding an empire stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic, and Syrians and Lebanese, who have shown their attachment to their republican institutions, will be delighted to learn that they will probably soon have a Caliph-King.

As an agriculturist, Dr. Lowdermilk may be entitled to say that the Jewish colonists "have done the finest work I have seen on four continents," though if he had looked a little farther north, in Lebanon, or south, in Egypt, he would have seen quite as good a use of the land with much smaller capital resources and far less publicity. As an agriculturist, too, he may be more interested in the fate of the land than of its Arab inhabitants. But he cannot be so innocent of economics as to ignore the cost of Jewish agriculture and its financial failure. As an example of this, Mr. Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency, recently stated that although the Jewish colonists received during the war advances of $72,000,000 from the Jewish Agency, they still stagger under debts of $60,000,000 and their income hardly covers the interest on those debts.

But the most interesting article of your supplement was surely that of Professor Laski, for it shows how even an outstanding intellectual Socialist can let himself be carried away by narrow aggressive nationalism and forget the noble principles for which he formerly stood. After vigorously denouncing British and American imperialism he goes on to point out that the sovereignty of the Middle East states is a "hypocritical pretense" and—presumably as a homeopathic remedy—to suggest that they should be deprived of what sovereignty they have and their resources put under a commission appointed by the United Nations—that is, by those same great powers he denounces.

Professor Laski does indeed anticipate some resistance to his plans but thinks they will only be *émeutes,* whose repression "would be nothing more than a big police operation." It would be really humorous, if it were not tragic, to see Professor Laski taking over, for the benefit of Zionism, not only the aims and methods but even the jargon of that imperialism he denounces.

The whole argument of your supplement rests on three assumptions: first, that the establishment of a Jewish state is such a desirable object that any amount of injustice it involves is justified; second, that, to quote Professor Laski, "such deep disagreement divides the Arab states that they would not effectively cooperate"; third, that only Russia can help the Arabs and that the last thing the "feudal Arab rulers" wish is to seek aid from Russia.

The first point has often been discussed, and there is no need to refute here the iniquitous fallacies on which it rests. As to the second, the Arabs have sufficiently reaffirmed their solidarity, especially as regards Palestine, and have enforced a boycott of Jewish goods whose efficacy is fully admitted by the Jews themselves. However, it is probable that you and others will only begin to take Arab solidarity seriously when it shall have proved itself by armed resistance to aggression.

As to the third point, it cannot be too often stressed that Zionism is opposed by all Arabs—*rulers and people alike*—and that no Arab would refuse aid from any quarter if that offered the sole avenue of escape from Zionist imperialism backed by the Western powers. However, it is by no means a foregone conclusion that Zionist propaganda will continue to stifle the conscience of the Western powers and prevent an understanding between the Arabs and the Americans, which the Arabs sincerely desire and which would be of such benefit to both sides.

CHARLES ISSAWI,
for the Arab Office

Washington, October 18

Is There a
CATHOLIC ISSUE?
Free Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets on the Roman Catholic Question
AGORA PUBLISHING CO.
DEPT. 111N
120 LIBERTY STREET NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

Without the Mufti Cooperation Can Exist

Dear Sirs: The delegate of San Salvador to the U. N. has suggested that an Arab-Jewish commission should come together and seek a basis for mutual cooperation and understanding. It was obvious that the Arab Higher Committee would reject any suggestion of this kind.

As I pointed out in my letter to *The Nation* about two months ago, the Arab Higher Committee has not the slightest legal standing and besides has no right to speak in the name of all the Arabs in Palestine, as it represents only the feudal families of the effendis and a few reactionary elements among the Arab Christians and other bazaar politicians who fish in troubled waters.

The fact that many Arab notables are being murdered by the followers of the Mufti and that many others have fled the land, seeking refuge in neighboring countries, is sufficient evidence that there are Arab leaders who favor an understanding with the Jews, particularly in that part of Palestine which has tentatively been allotted to the Jews by the partition plan of the majority report of UNSCOP.

The simplest thing to do is therefore to appeal now to the Arabs of that area to arrange their affairs themselves with the Jews, leaving out the Arab Higher Committee altogether.

But it is doubtful whether anything can be achieved if the Mufti is allowed to continue his political activity; moderate Arabs fear his terroristic acts, and they know that he commits them with the tacit consent of the British authorities.

Now is the psychological moment to demand his surrender as a war criminal. He violated the right of asylum and flew to Lebanon to defy the United Nations; the Egyptian government betrayed its pledge not to allow him to mix in politics. King Farouk himself is responsible; it was on his word of honor that the Mufti was allowed to stay in Egypt. The Lebanese and Saudi Arabian governments should be warned that they must not allow him to be spirited away and then say that he "escaped" without their knowledge.

It is also absolutely necessary to eliminate from the State Department all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the reactionary elements hampering the activity of the United States government. A pro-Arab functionary like Wadsworth, who is known for his help to the Arab effendis, as you have pointed out so ably and rightfully, has already done much damage to the prestige of the United States, and will do still more if left in his post. A. S. YAHUDA

New Haven, October 11

With the Mufti Murder Exists

Dear Sirs: The slaying of Sami Taha, chief of the Arab Workers' Society, on September 12 by a hireling of the Grand Mufti has aroused me sufficiently to submit to you certain facts regarding the Mufti that I feel might be important. It is possible that I may be the only American who knows these facts.

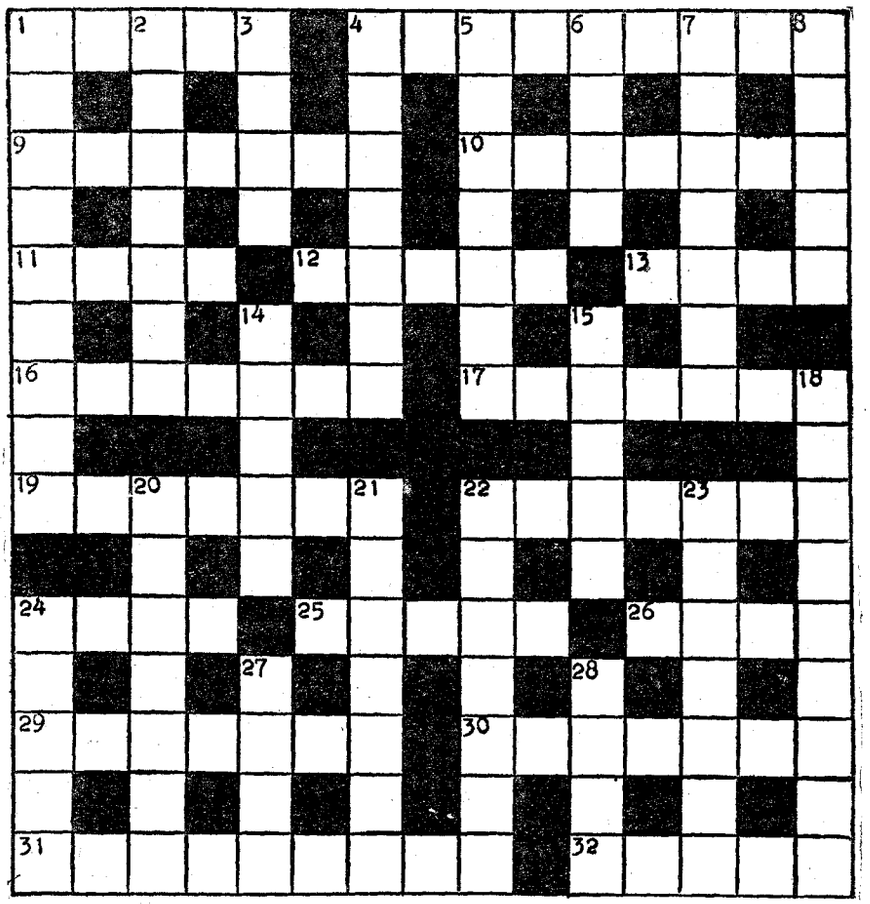
As a special agent of the Counter-Intelligence Corps in the Africa–Middle East Theater, I was at one time attached to British Intelligence as an interrogating officer. I remember the capture of a German parachute mission, dropped in Palestine in February, 1945, which consisted of at least two Germans and one or two Arabs. On this occasion I was told of the Grand Mufti's direct role in this and other missions by the interrogating officers. Working closely with the Abwehr (German Army Intelligence), the Mufti had helped in the recruiting, training, and instruction of the Arab members, who were to assist the German members in their sabotage and espionage objectives and to transmit information by wireless to Germany. One specific order to this February group was to increase in every possible way the split between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

My fellow-officers had also interrogated (I observed a portion of one of the sessions) a number of other Arabs who had come into the Near East through Turkey from Germany and who had been recruited and instructed by the Mufti to act as agents in the Near East and send information through Turkey to Germany.

Unfortunately, I was never assigned to any of the above cases; if I had been, I would have a much larger picture of the Mufti's activities. British Intelligence, of course, has many files of positive and incriminating evidence regarding the Mufti. These missions, had they been successful, would have caused great damage and disruption in the Middle East, which was a fighting zone and then later a very important training

Crossword Puzzle No. 235

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 As a rule, it sounds like an arm. (5)
4 Should mean a password at the bridge! (9)
9 The thief's in the jug overseas, and that's the end of it! (9)
10 How they drank at one time. (7)
11 Not the very image of diligence, apparently. (4)
12 Large and gaudy. (5)
13 Measures correctly, as stanzas should. (4)
16 Direction of Grant's march on Richmond? (7)
17 Ladies wear this out, and in a revel, at that! (7)
19 Place properly by tearing into pieces. (7)
22 Could steel be made out of them? (7)
24 Go to the river, and stick there. (4)
25 Fashionable vehicles, in a way. (5)
26 A demon returns hence. (4)
29 Was a grain a drop in the barrel once? (7)
30 Logical country for babies. (7)
31 St. Peter's dome is slightly off center, if you measure the distance. (9)
32 It's here now! (5)

DOWN

1 Take a taxi to the river, and allow one to ride in it. (9)
2 A negative reply is nothing to me but offensive. (7)
3 This grand old man knew a thing or two! (4)
4 Only children are so cooked. (7)
5 Where 7 is spoken? (7)
6 If repeated, this leads to jail. (4)
7 Spoken in 5? (7)
8 Cowboy actors? (5)
14 Capital is definitely below par now. (5)
15 If this bird hadn't lost his head, he'd make a lament. (5)
18 Just before 32. (9)
20 Grading to make it cheap. (7)
21 Butter portion? (7)
22 Gilbert referred to an enterprising one. (7)
23 Lochinvar was so in love! (7)
24 If the answer were "nip," this might be the clue. (5 hyphenated)
27 Frequently greased at the beach. (4)
28 A good place not to be on! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 234

ACROSS:—1 ETHICAL; 5 BLOWS UP; 9 FOLIO; 10 OCTENNIAL; 11 and 12 STOCKS AND BONDS; 13 SPEEDED; 15 DISABLE; 17 KINSHIP; 19 DESIRED; 21 TIMID; 23 OBSESSION; 25 HAYMAKERS; 26 WELDS; 27 PRECEDE; 28 STRINGY.

DOWN:—1 EFFUSES; 2 HALLOWEEN; 3 CLOCK; 4 LEOPARD; 5 BETIDED; 6 OMNIBUSES; 7 SCION; 8 PELISSE; 14 DEHYDRATE; 16 BERTILLON; 17 KETCHUP; 18 PROTEGE; 19 DESISTS; 20 DYNASTY; 22 MAYBE; 24 SEWER.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and supply area. We know the British have been very dishonest about the Mufti's case and have used his divide-and-conquer tactics themselves in Palestine, as in Greece.

JAMES ROGERS

Milwaukee, Wis., October 11

Mr. Ickes's Words—and Deeds

Dear Sirs: Miss Lopinsky's letter, in the October 4 issue of *The Nation*, referring to my article Fish and Politics, requires a rejoinder.

She cites a purported record to show that Harold L. Ickes as Secretary of the Interior was concerned with ending the salmon monopoly in Alaska. Although there are more than 400 fish traps in Alaska, Mr. Ickes did nothing to restore control of the bulk of these to Alaskans until January 31, 1946. This was thirteen days before he sent his letter of resignation to President Truman. One wonders whether he was trying to toss a hot potato to his successor or attempting to make "a record" on the eve of his departure.

From 1939 until 1946 Governor Gruening continually agitated for return of fish-trap sites to Alaskans. Secretary Ickes gave him not one scintilla of support. Suddenly, thirteen days before his resignation, Mr. Ickes issued orders limiting company ownership of trap sites. Why did he not do this earlier? He had had full control of the Alaskan salmon industry from 1939 on.

I have lived in both the West and Alaska, the two regions most associated with Mr. Ickes's Interior Department. I served nearly two years in Alaska during the war. My considered opinion of Mr. Ickes is that his deeds often were at variance with his words. He could advise the Navy Department what to do with helium, and he could tell the Commerce Department what to do about the automobile industry—but when it came to the Interior Department challenging the Alaskan fish monopoly, that was a different question.

I also think it is pertinent for readers of Miss Lopinsky's letter to know that she is an associate of James Curry, a Washington lawyer and former Ickes employee, who is trying to collect damages for certain Indian tribes under rules set down by Mr. Ickes while he was Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Curry is to receive 10 per cent of what the Indians collect. This could well run to several million dollars.

This letter need be no longer. Mr. Ickes through his syndicated column is showing himself clearly to the American people. Of late his two main targets have been David Lilienthal and President Truman, and one of his heroes has been Senator Taft.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., October 15

Newsprint Control Through Postal Laws?

Dear Sirs: I have read with considerable interest about the praiseworthy efforts of Senator James E. Murray to protect the paper supply of the smaller publishers. In that connection I should like to make a suggestion which may be helpful.

The postal subsidies allowed to publishers are based largely on the theory that the dissemination of information to the citizenry should be encouraged. It is, of course, true that an informed electorate is essential for truly democratic processes, and to the extent that publishers help to enlighten our people, the subsidy is warranted. It is apparent, however, that most of the large publishers have little or no interest in public enlightenment. Their primary function is the sale of advertising space for profit, with bits of gossip, scandal, news, or information thrown in to allure readers.

Under no theory can a subsidy for advertisers be justified. Such a subsidy to the most privileged economic class is an unfair drain upon the average taxpayer through postal losses. Moreover, a good deal of the advertising is done because Uncle Sam pays much of the cost through reduced income taxes. Both of these subsidies tend to promote a great deal of socially wasteful advertising, the cost of which is passed on to consumers as well as to the government.

I suggest that existing postal laws be amended so as to require every publisher to furnish monthly a report of the percentage of space used during the previous month for commercial advertising. The subsidy provision should continue to govern only for the space used for news and educational matter, the rest to be billed at the ordinary mailing rates.

I believe that this simple proposal would be fair and appropriate and would gain public favor in a short time.

IRVING H. FLAMM

Chicago, October 12

A Medal for Ecker

Dear Sirs: Last week the Joint Committee for Equality in Housing wrote to Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York, asking for an appointment to see him. As of this date, the audience has not been granted. The committee has therefore decided to publish its letter and has so informed the Mayor's secretary. The letter follows:

Honorable Sir: The New York *Times* of September 30 reports that you will be a speaker at the One Hundred Year Association dinner on October 30 for Frederick H. Ecker, chairman of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. At this dinner it is planned to award Mr. Ecker a gold medal for his "achievements" in the field of better housing.

Unfortunately, Mr. Ecker has gained such a deplorable reputation for his outspoken stand in favor of segregation in housing that it would be a slap at all fair-minded citizens for the Mayor of New York City to accord Mr. Ecker the honor of his presence. You must be aware that in the controversy about the Stuyvesant Town housing policy Mr. Ecker took a most unequivocal stand backing Jim Crow. Only last spring he insisted on a proviso in a contract with the United Nations secretariat which permits his company to practice its express policy of segregation in housing U. N. personnel.

We are aware of your policy of equality for all, and no act on your part should exacerbate, even inadvertently, this shameful insult to the U. N.

In behalf of the Joint Committee for Equality in Housing we believe that you should publicly refuse to attend this dinner, and some of us would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this matter with you. Will you kindly notify us when it will be possible for us to see you?

The committee continues to hope Mayor O'Dwyer will not see fit to attend the dinner. In any event, it will hold a protest demonstration against the "honoring" of Mr. Ecker, Thursday night, October 30, in front of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, in which the dinner is being staged.

CONRAD J. LYNN

For the Joint Committee

New York, October 24

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 29 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book. **Linguaphone Institute, 81 RCA Bldg. New York 20, N. Y.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED